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No. 2, April-May-June 1984



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USSR REPORT

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No 2, Apr-May-Jun 1984

Translation of the Russian-language journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA published quarterly in Moscow by the Institute of Sociological Research, USSR Academy of Sciences.

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PRACTICAL RETURNS FROM THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

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pp 6-14

[Article by R. G. Yanovskiy: "Practical Returns from the Social Sciences (Some Unresolved Problems)." Rudol'f Grigor'yevich Yanovskiy is a professor and doctor of philosophical sciences. He is the author of works on problems of education of scientific cadres, including the monographs "Two Levels of Consciousness and Political Convictions" (co-authored, 1974); "Political Studies in the Scientific Collective" (1974); "Shaping the Personality of the Scientist Under Developed Socialist Conditions" (1979). He is the author of the article "The Moral Stance of the Individual and Professional Activities" published in our journal (No 1, 1979)]

[Text] The contemporary stage in the development of socialist society requires the steady enhancement of the scientific level of planning and management. Today it is important to maintain the acquired pace and the general trend toward the practical solution of problems and more actively to develop and stabilize the positive trends. "We must display on all levels greater independence. We must daringly engage in searches and, if necessary, take justifiable risks for the sake of upgrading economic efficiency and improving the well-being of the people," K. U. Chernenko has pointed out (3).

The party set important assignments to the social scientists, the implementation of which will be a major step in the development of the social sciences. The interaction between basic scientific knowledge and practice will become more effective and the integration among the social, natural and technological disciplines will strengthen. The material base of the social sciences will become stronger and possibilities of applying precise methods of social research will broaden.

At the developed socialist stage science becomes one of the leading factors in social progress and a powerful means of reorganizing all facets of social life. Its influence becomes increasingly tangible not only in material production but in the development of the main productive force of society--man. For that reason the solution of the strategic problems set by the party of upgrading the efficiency of economic-organizational and political education work becomes inseparably related to strengthening the role of the social sciences in building socialism.

It is precisely these sciences which form the fundamental conceptual foundations of the practical and theoretical activeness of the people, ensure an

accurate understanding of the condition and trends of development of social relations and are a most important factor in the education of the new man.

The potential of Soviet science substantially increased in recent years. This is confirmed by the dynamics of the growth of scientific cadres. Whereas in 1965 there were 664,600 scientific and scientific-pedagogical workers (including 14,800 doctors of sciences and 134,400 candidates), their number rose to 1,431,700 in 1982 (39,700 doctors of sciences and 423,000 candidates) (5). A similar pace characterizes the dynamics of social science cadres as well.

Additionally, we must include specialists doing research outside scientific institutions and VUZs. Thus, over the past 15 years their number has more than quintupled. A particularly large group of scientists--economists, legal experts and philosophers--is working in social production and the administrative bodies. Meanwhile, despite such successes, the problem of staffing scientific and ideological institutions and administrative bodies with highly qualified personnel remains topical.

Clearly, the growth of quantitative indicators is only one aspect of scientific progress, and not the main one at that, and the very concept of scientific potential in the social sciences may not be reduced to the number of research institutions or the graduation of specialists. It encompasses the totality of acquired knowledge and its practical application in social management, the organizational forms of interaction among the humanities and the natural and technical sciences and the dissemination of a Marxist outlook among the broad toiling masses. Furthermore, it is well-known that science is not an end in itself but one of the most important means of resolving economic, sociopolitical and ideological problems facing the developed socialist society. The most important among them were defined at the 26th Party Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and substantiated in the addresses of party and state leaders.

What is the role of the social sciences in resolving such problems? We find a clear and precise answer to the question in the CPSU documents which, on the one hand, emphasize the urgent need for a profound and comprehensive substantiation of the trends followed in the party's socioeconomic policy and, on the other, note that so far the social sciences have not yielded proper practical returns. "Speaking frankly," as was noted at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "to this day we have not properly studied the society in which we live and work; its specific laws, the economic laws in particular, have not been fully identified. For that reason we must occasionally act empirically, so to say, applying the very inefficient method of trial and error" (2, p 19).

The principled party criticism of the state of research in social science confirms its poor efficiency and drastic lag which has appeared between the qualitative and quantitative indicators of the development of the social sciences, which requires the impartial analysis of the reasons for this situation.

The low efficiency of scientific research may be explained by anything other than the shortage of scientific workers or respective institutions. Therefore, all the necessary reasons exist to assume that, after exceeding a certain level, quantitative indicators begin adversely to affect research quality and efficiency. There is nothing paradoxical in this situation, for the more jobs open in science the less thorough becomes the selection of applicants and the larger becomes the number of unsuitable people joining scientific collectives, lacking the professional training and individual qualities which a scientist must possess.

Furthermore, obstacles also arise in the work of the real scientists. Emphasis is shifted from the qualitative implementation of state plans to individual "dissertation-suitable" topics, as K. U. Chernenko mentioned in his report at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Such "dissertation-suitability" frequently contrasts with true science, practical efficiency and research relevance.

The increase in the number of such "titled" individuals is not without its consequences. Adverse psychological stereotypes appear in the attitude toward research, in which the inability to formulate and resolve imminent practical problems concealed behind "caution," "circumspection" and misinterpreted academism. Things have gone so far that "caution" has become a quality which, if not approved, is at least not censured. Yet there is caution and there is caution. Caution is to be praised when it means a desire for reliability and comprehensive substantiation of conclusions; it is intolerable when it actually becomes a question of concealing research inertia. That is why today refusal to rely on purely quantitative parameters in scientific development, orientation toward quality indicators, more thorough selection of scientific cadres and determining the ability of university students to engage in scientific work assume prime significance. This is the main guarantee for the intensification of research. Since one of the basic manifestations of the talent of a scientist is his ability to see practical needs and to advance in their direction, under socialist conditions true professionalism is identical to the party-mindedness and civic responsibility of the scientist. This alone ensures the organic interconnection between science and practice in building socialism.

The party, which set the social sciences qualitatively new and responsible assignments, has directed them toward resolving the topical economic, sociopolitical and spiritual problems of the mature socialist society and the implementation of the planned purposeful ties between scientific research and ideological education and economic organizational work. The principal among them are to study the theoretical problems of mature socialism, constructive development of ways and means of achieving our immediate and long-term objectives, the study of ratios among class forces in the world arena, consideration of the main problem of today--war and peace--the study of sociopolitical processes in socialist countries and ways of comprehensively strengthening the world socialist commonwealth, the latest characteristics of state monopoly capitalism and the class struggle waged by the proletariat, the global communist and worker movements, the development of countries with a socialist orientation and the global problems of our time (2, pp 11-12).

Practical experience shows that considerable opportunities to upgrade the efficiency of the social sciences exist in the skillful organization of research projects and to concentrate the efforts of scientists on key problems of the country's socioeconomic development. Developed socialism offers tremendous opportunities for strengthening ties between research and social requirements and for comprehensively strengthening the planning of scientific activities. However, such opportunities are still far from fully used. The profound summation of real facts and the identification of objective processes are occasionally replaced by far-fetched pseudoscientific elaborations and the juggling among alternate category systems. Insufficient studies are conducted of building socialism in our country and abroad. Ripening problems are not always promptly detected. Efforts are made at uncritically borrowing the means and methods used in bourgeois sociology. A streamlined system for the study of public opinion has not been organized to this day.

The task of ensuring a new and significantly higher level of theoretical research in the social and, above all, economic sciences and in the work of our scientific institutions and individual scientists was set at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "A decisive turn must be made in the direction of real practical problems which life presents to our society. To the same extent as the natural sciences, the social sciences must become an efficient aide of the party and the entire people in resolving them" (2, p 6).

What does this mean? Above all, it means ensuring the close unity among scientific, ideological and organizational activities, purposefulness, organization and planning in scientific developments; creating conditions for the steady growth of scientific knowledge and comprehensively strengthening ties between scientists and enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, ideological institutions and mass information media. Finally, it means making developments in the social sciences significantly more relevant and current and improving their purposeful and practical utilization. It is only the study of reality as it is that will help us to surmount recurrences of scholasticism.

The socioeconomic policy of the CPSU Central Committee is based on the profound and comprehensive study of specific internal and external conditions of social development. It proceeds from the Leninist requirement of objective study of phenomena and processes and consideration of all their interacting aspects. Facing life by a social scientist means turning above all to the experience of party work which covers all aspects of Soviet social activities. The researchers must not wait until someone would "submit" to them results of acquired experience. They themselves must plunge into the thick of life. This alone will ensure the profound theoretical interpretation of objective processes. The following should be taken into consideration: addressing oneself to practice tasks does not mean a simple description of practical experience but its specific study on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory. Productive scientific work must be characterized not by descriptiveness but by intensive thinking backed by the creative summation of practical experience.

Unquestionably, the organizational aspects of a decisive turn of science toward real problems covers a significant number of unresolved problems of the structural reorganization of the system for planning and coordinating scientific research and the creation of efficient levers for the conversion of social assignments into practical results in social research. "A great deal will depend on the way we shall mobilize for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress the collectives of enterprises, scientific research and design organizations and engineering-technical and scientific cadres. This is a task of prime importance. We must and can resolve it," the December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted (4).

Upgrading the practical efficiency of social sciences and converting them into an efficient instrument of social change require a great deal of effort and purposeful theoretical, propaganda and educational work and the full utilization of the spiritual potential of the society. True scientific professionalism is based on extensive knowledge and high cultural standards which enable us creatively to reinterpret and to apply the achievements of the past. V. I. Lenin deliberately emphasized that "one can become a communist only by enriching one's memory with the knowledge of all the wealth created by mankind" (1).

The social sciences not only shape the foundations of a materialistic outlook but also teach the working people creativity, daring searches and highly productive work. They combine within a single chain the achievements of the past and the present with future historical developments. In this work we must take into consideration the steadily occurring changes in the country's social life and in the international arena. We must have a good idea of objectively existing difficulties and contradictions determined by the characteristics of the specific stage in the development of socialist society. "The party pays great attention to interpreting the characteristics of the contemporary period soberly and without even a shade of utopia determining the level of socioeconomic maturity of the new society we have reached," Comrade K. U. Chernenko pointed out in his speech to the voters of the Kuybyshev Electoral District in Moscow. "By defining this, we formulate the strictly scientific foundations of CPSU policy. Here as well the concept of developed socialism as a historically lengthy stage at the beginning of which our country finds itself plays a tremendous role."

One of the most important trends of scientific research in the social sciences is to upgrade the efficiency of labor and production and the formulation of practical recommendations on the practical utilization of progressive methods of socialist economic management and ensuring closer ties between sectorial and territorial planning. The scientists face particularly responsible assignments in connection with the implementation of the USSR Food Program and the creation of agroindustrial associations. A deeper interpretation must be provided to the laws of surmounting social disparities between town and country and the condition and trends of development of the way of life of the rural population and the means of attracting and retaining manpower in manpower-short areas. Significant accomplishments have been scored in this area. In particular, the characteristics of population migrations in the Siberian countryside have been studied well. Nevertheless, economists and sociologists prefer merely to note the existing situation rather than to suggest constructive ways to change it.

What obstructs the reorientation of scientific research toward the solution of specific practical problems? The lack of problems, above all. Let us take as an example the study of the theoretical and methodological aspects of the socialist way of life. Dozens of large-scale studies have been made. However, the studies have stopped on the level of discussions as to the meaning of specific categories. Meanwhile, means of improving the way of life of the Soviet people have still not been clearly defined. The term "way of life" is still used as a collective noun or a heading for a great variety of research "topics" which do not entail any kind of obligation. We believe that such studies, even those based on thousands of selected subjects, is an example of petty topics. Meanwhile, urgent and serious problems exist of strengthening the socialist principles in the way of life of the Soviet people, which urgently require a solution.

One of the characteristics of the contemporary stage in social development is the intensified interdependence between economic programs and the quality of educational work. The improved material well-being of the population and the advancement of the social infrastructure do not automatically entail the shaping of a socialist type of personality. This requires a planned educational system based on awareness of the real situation. Furthermore, the restructuring of the economic mechanism cannot be successful without the quality improvement of ideological activities and its orientation toward end results. The implementation of the party's plans entirely depends on the level of consciousness and creative activity of the masses. In this case "ideological work increasingly assumes priority. Its role and significance grow," the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum decree points out (2, p 67).

Scientific research work on education problems must take into consideration the entire complexity of contemporary social processes and the variety and contradictoriness of mass awareness shaped under the influence not only of the achievements of our society but of existing shortcomings and the flows of scientific and even antiscientific information affecting the way of life of contemporary man. Sociologists and psychologists must not avoid such problems or fail to see the increased complexity of the dialectics of social and individual awareness.

The dynamism of the influence of social processes on social awareness and value orientations and human priorities have increased as well. The increased complexity of economic ties and distribution relations, the enhanced level and improved consumption structure are contributing to the political and sociomoral development of the individual. Such is the general trend. In a number of cases, however, particularly wherever state interests are underestimated, said changes in the social area are also accompanied by a variety of negative antisocial manifestations such as parochialism, bureaucratism, waste, etc. The success of the struggle for strengthening the socialist principles in the way of life of Soviet people depends directly on the effectiveness of education systems, naturally, providing that the latter are not reduced to verbal-didactic influences but that the entire arsenal of organizational-economic, juridical and propaganda methods is put to use.

Today aspects of the way of life such as consumer behavior, leisure-time structure, attitude toward labor and the efficiency of the mass information media are assuming an increasingly heavy ideological "burden." "Durable results are achieved in educational work...wherever it encompasses all sides of human activities, including their way of life, recreation and family relations," K. U. Chernenko noted in his speech at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum (2, p 60).

Let us also note an important and greatly determining factor in the contemporary state of education such as the drastic aggravation of the ideological struggle, the concealed nature of its content and the refinement and variety of methods to which bourgeois propaganda resorts. It is precisely the need to take into consideration all the characteristics of the contemporary situation that determines the further strengthening of relations between social sciences and the practice of communist education. Philosophers, sociologists and economists must not only study more energetically the laws and trends in the development of the social sphere but also learn how to combine their efforts with those of the party committees and labor collectives and to provide the latter with timely and skillful assistance. Some experience has been acquired in cooperation with social scientists by the party organizations in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan and other republics, where economic-organizational and political-educational work based on comprehensive target programs is carried out. Considerable possibilities are found in a form of integration between the social sciences and practical work as the sociological and psychological services operating under the party committees. By combining the efforts of party workers and scientists they make it possible to engage in social experimentation and ensure the fastest possible "delivery" and practical utilization of study results. This was confirmed in particular by the experiment in Lenkoran which involved the participation of specialists from the editorial board of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA and the ideological aktiv of a rural rayon in Azerbaijan. The result of the experiment was the creation of a scientific-methodical center at the party gorkom which provides sociological support in educational activities (6).

The organization of productive interaction among social sciences and educational practice requires ability and readiness on the part of labor collectives, ideological institutions and practical workers to adopt and make use of the achievements of economics, sociology and psychology. It is a question above all of finding corresponding organizational methods for the practical utilization of research projects and upgrading the interest in using new developments and engaging in social experimentation on the basis of latest scientific achievements.

Educational work can be truly efficient only with a properly organized efficient feedback and objective assessments and consideration of the efficiency of ideological influence among the various population groups. Increasing significance is ascribed to the systematic study of public opinion and the characteristics of mass consciousness and value orientations. At the same time, the system of indicators which ensures the pursuit of this important work trend has still not been developed. So far studies are conducted spontaneously, without relying on a uniform methodical base. This problem

must be resolved by sociologists and specialists in propaganda theory, psychologists and statisticians. This is a field for extensive work in order to implement the stipulations of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Clearly, we must also consider the question of expanding the creative cooperation between humanities institutions and mass information organs. The increased utilization of the results of scientific research by social scientists by the television, the radio and the press will enable us to test the value of new scientific ideas. Unquestionably, the mass information media need the help of scientists, particularly in preparing large-scale propaganda and ideological projects.

In studying the dynamics of social phenomena and explaining the trends and laws of their development, the social sciences must improve the conceptual apparatus of Marxist-Leninist theory. We are familiar with the aphorism that "nothing is more practical than a good theory." It is exceptionally regrettable that instead of a profound problem-directed theoretical analysis, occasionally we come across scholastic exercises. A good theory is created not on the basis of a categorical apparatus but of the interpretation of specific problems and laws of social development based on the leading achievements of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Alongside the development of fundamental and theoretical problems, the question of the participation of scientists in taking the results of their research to the necessary "technological" level is no less important. The solution of such problems demands of the social sciences the elaboration of applied summations, methods and experimental utilization procedures. It is only with their help that theoretical stipulations could be translated into the specific language of comprehensive programs.

Sociologists and social psychologists have been frequently criticized as to the efficiency of their practical recommendations. Most of them are addressed to no one in particular. They are not oriented toward the specific "consumer," and are frequently presented as declarative concepts. Such a situation must be radically changed. Study results must lead to the formulation and publication of legal and directive documents and specific recommendations. In turn, this presumes the closer cooperation between scientific workers, on the one hand, and party, state and economic organs and labor collectives, on the other.

The social scientists must pay most serious attention to the elaboration of a program for the comprehensive improvement of the entire management mechanism on all levels and in all economic units. Today economists, sociologists and legal experts face special problems.

The key problems which must be resolved without delay are ensuring the organic combination of the interests of the state and the labor collectives; defining the functions, rights and responsibilities of management organs and enterprises; directing plans toward efficiency and quality indicators; upgrading the efficiency of economic levers and economic mechanism incentives.

"We must be able not only to formulate proper objectives but persistently to achieve them by surmounting all difficulties. We must realistically assess accomplishments neither exaggerating nor belittling them," K. U. Chernenko pointed out in his speech at the February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "Only this approach will prevent us from making errors in politics and protect us from the temptation of turning wishes into reality and will enable us clearly to see, as Lenin said, 'what precisely we completed and what we failed to complete'" (3).

A number of scientific institutions are becoming involved in drafting resolutions on a number of national economic problems. However, their contribution is not always sufficiently effective. This is partially explained by the lack of comprehensive approach. For example, the problem of sensible consumption is being studied by philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, economists and jurists. However, each of those subjects studies only the aspects of this complex phenomenon consistent with its specific profile. As a result, there still is no uniform comprehensively substantiated consumption concept which will enable us to make specific decisions in terms of regulating supply and demand, trade, price setting, etc.

Obviously, defining a rational consumption structure will require the study of sociopolitical, economic, demographic, psychological, ethnic and other factors. This comprehensive task must be implemented with the help of a comprehensive system of measures relative to the production of consumer goods, the population's income and means of meeting requirements.

In order to enhance the degree of research comprehensiveness and system it would be expedient to broaden the practice of creating interdisciplinary problem-topic groups. They must consist of scientists in different fields and practical workers. We already have such experience which must be developed and strengthened.

Topic groups may engage in studies of a double nature. First, interdisciplinary projects (with the participation of philosophers, economists, psychologists, jurists and sociologists); this would include comprehensive problems such as developing a socialist attitude toward labor, reducing manual and eliminating heavy unskilled labor, developing a consumption standard, upgrading the meaningful use of leisure time and preventing crime and antisocial actions. Another range of problems includes the application of results and raising them to the specific organizational-practical level.

Particularly important here is for the scientists to master the dialectical methodology of Marxism-Leninism, which offers infinite opportunities for the study of social phenomena and processes in their unity and interconnection. The comprehensive approach to the study of the various aspects of social life presumes the combined efforts of specialists, who frequently continue to work "as of old," within the narrow framework of traditional disciplines. Conversion to the joint development of topical social problems based on a single plan--a comprehensive research program--would demand of the scientists the ability to cross narrow professional barriers and to assume responsibility for organization, quality and discipline, without which the end results of the specialists' activities would be inconceivable.

Cadre selection and training are key links in upgrading the practical science potential of the social sciences. We already discussed the contradictions of the extensive growth of the scientific contingent. The root of the problem lies in the disparity between the educational system and the requirements and quality of specialist training.

Obviously, giving priority to quality indicators in the work of scientific collectives will require changes in the specialists' training system, based on the implementation of the reform of general and professional training. Abilities become apparent as early as in high school. However, good grades are by far not the only criterion in vocational guidance.

The training of social scientists on the university level must meet new stricter requirements. The students must not only master Marxist-Leninist methodology and have the necessary volume of professional knowledge but be well-oriented in the areas of domestic and foreign policy. They must be able to defend their views with suitable arguments. Briefly stated, they must be active political fighters. Marx's familiar thesis acquires a new richer content under contemporary conditions: in the past philosophers merely explained the world in a variety of ways; now it has become a question of changing it.

If we could ensure, above all with the help of educators and psychologists, a higher and truly contemporary level of vocational guidance, we could greatly enhance the country's labor potential, including in the area of scientific activities. This problem is even more urgent in VUZs and scientific research institutes, where the selection for postgraduate studies remains virtually uncontrolled and is based exclusively on examinations, although it is obvious that the ability to answer questions is hardly always a characteristic of a scientific vocation. However, once admitted to postgraduate studies, virtually everyone sooner or later undertakes to defend his candidate thesis. We already discussed "dissertation ability." Let us note here that such facts prove that the need is ripe for the formulation of programs for comprehensively improving the training of scientific cadres. It makes sense above all to pay not for diplomas but for the real labor contribution made by a specialist to the implementation of the plans. The type of indicators and criteria to be applied in this case is a separate matter. It is clear, however, that the time has come to enhance the economic independence of scientific institutions and to interest scientists in undertaking research projects with the lowest possible labor outlays. Let us consider for example the large number of laboratory workers and junior scientific associates in some institutes. Many of them are obviously underused and are occasionally assigned to conduct surveys, to carry out individual assignments, etc. The use of university students for such work would be doubly useful: first, it would save money; second, it would train the young scientists directly through research. Possibilities in this respect are numerous and we believe that the time has come for science to conduct experiments which would yield "major results at lower cost."

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On Upgrading the Role of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics in Developing Crucial Problems of the Economic Theory of Developed Socialism" indicates the need to introduce planning

and organization of research based on orders placed by central ministries and departments and clearly to define the end objectives of research projects, the methods for accepting and testing completed projects and deadlines for their practical utilization (7). This CPSU Central Committee instruction applies to all socioscientific institutions.

In organizing the activities of such institutions we must proceed from the fact that under the new economic management conditions, when intensification and accelerated application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in production assume a decisive importance the role and responsibility of scientists and all workers in the sciences become greater than ever before."

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IMPORTANCE OF THEORETICAL STANDARD OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 84
(signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 15-22

[Article by M. N. Rutkevich: "On the Significance and Structure of the Theoretical Standard of Sociological Research." Mikhail Nikolayevich Rutkevich is USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, head of the Marxism-Leninism chair at the USSR Council of Ministers Academy of the National Economy. He is the author of more than 10 monographs on problems of philosophy and sociology, including "Intelligentsiya Razvitogo Sotsialisticheskogo Obshchestva" [The Intelligentsia in the Developed Socialist Society] (1977), "Dialektika i Sotsiologiya" [Dialectics and Sociology] (1980), "Stanovleniye Sotsial'noy Odnorodnosti" [Establishing Social Homogeneity] (1982) and others. He is the author of more than 300 articles, many of which were published in this journal]

[Text] The role and social responsibility of the social sciences increased at the contemporary stage of mature socialism. The solution of many important problems of the political, economic and cultural development of the country must be "indicated" by scientific practice, including sociology, which is directly related to the planning and management of socioeconomic development and the ideological education activities of party and state organs.

In emphasizing that the party expects of the social sciences, including sociology, "thorough specific studies of social problems," the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum particularly noted the need of upgrading the quality and practicality of scientific developments and "energizing scientific research and ensuring a decisive turn of scientific institutions and all social scientists toward the key practical problems facing the country" (2, p 70).

The significant growth of the scale and intensification of the socialist economy, which are taking place under the condition of the new round of the scientific and technical revolution, and the consequent substantial changes in the socioclass, settlement, sociodemographic and professional structures of society and the fast growth of the cultural standard of the people and the development of mass information media gave priority to a number of problems in the development of which sociology plays a special role. This includes reducing the share of unskilled and underskilled labor, upgrading the general education level and professional training of workers, lowering cadre turnover, making comprehensive use of reserves for stimulating and motivating labor on the basis of improvements in the economic mechanism, ensuring the steady growth of efficiency and quality in all areas of labor activities,

radically improving the system of general and vocational training, particularly youth labor training, intensifying the labor and sociopolitical activeness of the working people in connection with the development of the brigade labor organization method, upgrading the autonomy of enterprises, studying public opinion and many others.

It would be improper to claim that sociologists ignore such problems. Numerous studies have been made of various aspects of such problems and extensive empirical data have been gathered. However, increasing practical returns from sociological science require the further elaboration of its theoretical foundations. Practical experience indicates that neglecting this situation inevitably lowers the quality of empirical data, leads to their superficial and sometimes even arbitrary interpretation and lowers the value of practical recommendations to the point where unrealistic concepts are formulated. Thus, for example, the plans for the social development of labor collectives, drafted for five-year periods, sometimes include assignments such as the all-round development of the individual, elimination of social disparities, etc. One can easily see that such problems essentially exceed the framework of the individual labor collective and the planned period of time. In the final account, they constitute the historically social limits which the party has formulated as the basic objectives of its activities on the road to the higher phase of communism.

Consequently, while concentrating on practical problems theory should not be neglected in the least. The Marxist-Leninist classics not only formulated the initial categories and laid the conceptual foundations of scientific sociology but also formulated the fundamental methodological principles which regulate and control the process of social knowledge. Their observance and enrichment express the party and class-oriented position of the Marxist sociologists and determine the success of his real participation in resolving the historical problems of perfecting mature socialism in the USSR.

This participation requires the profound and comprehensive study of the society in which we live and work and the full identification of its specific laws. It excludes from management practices the trial and error method.

Let us note that the lagging developed in Soviet sociological science in studying the laws of socialist development and, therefore, practical problems, has its objective reasons. It is influenced above all by the lack of higher sociological training in the country, for which skill enhancement courses are no substitute. The latter do not provide basic knowledge but rather help specialists in various fields, working as sociologists at enterprises and organizations, to retrain and increase their knowledge.

In our view, no less important is the fact that today the organizational structure of sociology is inconsistent with its social functions and tasks. Thus, for example, so far no legal stipulations have been drafted defining the status of the sociological service at enterprises (associations) and their place and role in the production management system, cadres and targets. However, subjective reasons exist as well, which depend on the sociologists themselves and on the choice of research targets, methodological concepts and research methods and the ability to analyze and theoretically sum up acquired data.

Broadening the range of problems covered by specific studies and including in scientific research socially significant national economic and ideological education problems is impossible without further refining the tasks not only of sociology as a whole but its individual components and levels as well. This requires a periodical return to problems which may seem resolved, starting with the structure of our science and the area of its research interests and competence, the more so since even the universal acceptance of some conclusions and concepts in this area occasionally does not eliminate the requirement of amending them in the course of the development of life itself.

As we know, the term "sociology" itself goes back to the works of Auguste Conte. Literally translated, it means "the science of society." At the same time, it is accurate to consider it not as the single but as one of the many sciences which study society. What distinguishes sociology from other scientific disciplines?

Although classified as "social" sciences, economics, history, law, psychology and other specific theoretical disciplines study not the totality of the various areas of social life in their entirety but only individual ones, i.e., the laws which govern the functioning and development of individual areas of life. Thus, as a subject history singles out within the social phenomena the development and origin of their forms, interconnections and laws of the development of social processes. Economics studies human behavior and interaction in the realm of economic relations. The subject of Marxist sociology is the study of the overall laws governing the functioning and development of society. It is precisely this understanding of the subject of Marxist sociology that was suggested more than 20 years ago by P. N. Fedoseyev and Yu. P. Frantsev (6).

However, other views exist as well. In particular, the "Philosophical Dictionary" offers two different definitions of the subject of sociological science: 1) "Science of the laws of the development and functioning of social systems, both global (society as a whole) and individual;" 2) science which "studies the interconnection among different social phenomena and general laws of social behavior" (4). These quotes repeat almost literally the description of the subject in the article "Sociology" in the "Philosophical Encyclopedia" (5). Since these works enjoy a high status and since we have no "sociological dictionary" as yet, they substantially affect the understanding of the subject of sociology not only on the part of the broad readership but the specialists as well.

It is easy to see that in these definitions sociology is interpreted as the science of social phenomena, interconnections, laws, etc.; the term "social" is used in its general meaning, so to say, in its literal translation from the Latin.

Both works include two errors: first, the fact that sociology has as its subject the general laws governing the functioning and development of society, which precisely distinguishes it from the other social sciences and from the science of history, is undeservedly "forgotten;" second, they do not

take into consideration the fact that, starting with Marx, the concept of "social" has been used in Marxist literature not only in a general but an entirely specific sense. In his classical presentation of the foundations of the materialistic understanding of history in the preface to his "Critique of Political Economy" (1859), K. Marx discusses the social processes in society as distinct from economic, political and spiritual processes although all of them, unquestionably, are society and, therefore, "social" in the basic broad meaning of the term. Marx's view that "the production method in material life determines social, political and spiritual processes in life in general" (1) defines the position of social processes as combining economic relations between people and political and spiritual relations in the course of the production of material goods.

We have already considered the question of the meaning of the term "social" in this narrow specialized sense (7). Suffice it to note at this point that, in studying problems of social planning as an organic component of comprehensive economic and social planning and problems of the social policy of the party and the state, social problems in the development of society, and so on, Soviet sociological publications use the term "social" precisely in its specialized sense (8). The interpretation of sociology as a science of social processes in a narrow specialized meaning of the "social" concept is as erroneous as to consider it a "science of social processes" in the general sense of the term, for such an understanding deprives sociology of its specific subject and essentially dissolves it within other sciences. Thus, for example, distribution relations are studied above all in economics, law, social psychology, etc. They are also studied in sociology but from an entirely definite angle. Separating social processes within a special "sphere" separated from economic and cultural processes in order to grant sociology the right to exist as one of the specific social sciences becomes, therefore, unjustified.

Such a vague understanding of the subject of sociology is directly manifested in identifying specific (applied, empirical) social studies (which could be given any interpretation) and specific (implied, empirical) sociological studies.

The trend of describing as sociological any type of social study (such as, for example, a study by NOT [scientific organization of labor] economists at a plant with a view to streamlining brigade wages or by VUZ social psychologists based on a contract with an enterprises, with a view to studying and improving the psychological climate in a shop) is not harmless in the least: all the shortcomings in the preparations for and engaging in such studies are thus "ascribed" to sociology and sociologists.

In turn, reducing sociology to a specific, applied and empirical science lowers its methodological significance. It does not consider the structure of the science of sociology which could be conventionally described as "vertical," i.e., the correlation within it of generalities of different degrees, based on the depth they have reached in determining the essence of levels of knowledge.

We proceed from the fact that Marxist sociology is, above all, the theory of historical materialism, which teaches us the overall laws of the structure, functioning and development of human society. It is self-evident that if this formula is presented in its abridged aspect, mentioning nothing but development, the study of the historical development of society presumes the study of its structure and functioning.

Reasons of gnosiological order lead to the fact that some scientists, while noting the methodological significance of historical materialism in sociological research, take it outside the range of sociology per se. The main among them is the underestimating of the fact that the dialectical interconnection and interpenetration of processes within reality is also reflected in the system of scientific knowledge. Historical materialism is indeed an inseparable component of Marxist philosophy: no dialectical materialism is possible without a materialistic understanding of social life. However, historical materialism is also a general theoretical Marxist sociology, i.e., a science of the general laws governing the structure, functioning and development of human society and the replacement of some social organisms (socio-economic systems) with others in the course of the history of mankind. It is no accident that precisely such laws are described in Marxist literature as "general sociological."

At that point the areas of philosophy and sociology do not simply "cross" but, to a certain extent, "superimpose" on each other. A certain level of general knowledge (the sociological laws we mentioned) in philosophy is linked with the most profound level--knowledge of the general, such as the attitude of the mind toward matter and the general laws of communication and development which operate in nature, society and the mind, known as the laws of dialectics. In sociology, however, this same level turns out to be most general and it is precisely within sociology that it organically blends with the lower levels. That is why the conclusion which was reached at the beginning of the 1970s on the nature of historical materialism as a philosophical-sociological theory is fully contemporary and accurate; since then this thesis has been authoritatively and extensively acknowledged (9, 10).

The way from general sociological theory, which gives us a knowledge of the interrelationship between social life and social consciousness, between base and superstructure, and so on, to specific studies of applied significance such as, for example, the formulation of the social parts of plans for the development of the labor collective, involves a number of areas of sociological theory directly related to specific aspects and processes in social life. The methodological standard of specific studies cannot be enhanced without the acceptance of individual (special) sociological theories, which are the intermediary, the connecting link between general theory and empirical research and use of its results. A great deal was accomplished in the elaboration of such theories between the 1960s and the 1980s. More than 10 years ago V. A. Yadov justifiably pointed out that "relatively independent areas develop within Marxist theoretical sociology, with their specific subjects, initial postulates and developed conceptual systems" (11). In applying to such "individual sociologies" the term "theory of the average level," suggested by R. Merton, Soviet scientists have justifiably emphasized

differences in the method of "including" such theories in the general hierarchy of levels of sociological knowledge. Whereas to Merton the "theories of the average level," with their conceptual apparatus, could have as their base either the general sociological theory of structural functionalism or Marxism, Soviet Marxist scientists have no doubt that such theories must be based on the general principles of historical materialism and its conceptual apparatus and develop on the basis of its methodology. An editorial in KOMMUNIST, which summed up the results of the development of Soviet sociological science during the 1970s, emphasized the following: "The view that the subject of sociology is nothing but the theory of historical materialism proved to be insufficient. Sociological knowledge is not covered by general sociological theory. It necessarily includes so-called individual sociological disciplines which study specific areas of social life (work, culture, family, etc.) as well as specific sociological studies" (10).

However, doubts as to the legitimacy of the existence of special sociological theories remain. Thus, according to A. K. Uledov, the creation of "systems of special sociologies is not the best way," for "it means to underestimate the possibilities of historical materialism and the individual social sciences of the study of specific sociological laws and thus to replace the latter with an infinite number of sociologies" (12). This remark is accurate in the sense that the creation of an "infinite" number of sociologies could be proof of nothing but the ambitions of their authors who undertake the more profound study of a specific problem from the positions of sociology. That is precisely why the question of the principles on the basis of which the "average level" theories can be classified is of essential importance. Otherwise, Uledov is wrong. The special (individual) sociological theories are an extension of the general theory, leading it to the level of specific studies in specific areas of social life, which distinguishes them from the individual social sciences (economics, law, etc.) in an entirely definite way. Let us point that whereas some special sociological theories have already been developed and acquired their own system of categories, others are in the process of their development and that reasonable doubts arise concerning studies in one area or another, "proclaimed" by their authors. In this case this should be a question of a specific sociological theory or simply of the use of sociological methods in the study of specific problems.

Equally legitimate is the formulation of the question of a level of sociological theory which comes directly into contact with strictly empirical studies and which enriches their method. Some authors assume that in this case we are dealing not simply with a sum total of methodical means, most of which borrowed from other areas of knowledge, but with a specific system and suggest that we speak not of methodology, method, technique or organization of sociological studies but of a "theory of empirical sociological research" (13).

In our view, this question as well needs further discussion.

Therefore, Marxist sociology as a science has its complex internal structure determined, above all, by the overall structure of scientific knowledge which leads to achieving an increasingly deep penetration within the nature of phenomena and, therefore, characterized by a hierarchy of levels of knowledge;

secondly, by the structure of the object of knowledge--human society--which is most directly reflected in the system of individual sociological theories.

Such theories may include the following subjects: 1) various types of social commonalities, each of which is a specific "slice" of social relation systems. This includes settlements, sociodemographic groups, labor collectives, small groups, families, etc., down to the individual within whom all social relations are concentrated; 2) a certain developing area of social life with its own institutions and organizations. This applies to politics, the law, religion, science, etc.; 3) certain types of social activities, such as labor, recreation, sports, etc. We also classify among the theories of this type the sociological theories which study activities in the realm of social pathology (criminality, drunkenness, alcoholism, drug addiction, etc.).

The question of distinguishing between individual sociological theories and social sciences (here and subsequently, naturally, this will apply exclusively to theories deliberately based on Marxism) is most complex whenever research targets coincide. Indeed, what actually separates (or should separate) sociology of law (religion, science, art, etc.) from the legal sciences (study of religions, science, art, etc.)?

In our view, we are dealing here with two interrelated aspects based on the specific nature of the ties between special sociological theory and historical materialism. Sociology of the law is not merely based on historical materialism (which applies to the science of the law as well) but directly proceeds from its principles and laws, which provides a specific way of looking at the common object of study--legal norms and institutions. As we know, the subject and object of a science are entirely different things. Whereas the object of these two sciences is the same, differences in the subject quite clearly determine the "angle of vision" based on more general postulates. Sociology of the law studies a specific area of social life in its dialectical interconnection with all other objects and aspects of social life, based on the general approach of historical materialism to society as a system taken in its development, to begin with. Secondly, sociology of the law must determine the specific nature of relations between life and consciousness and between objective and subjective factors in a given area from the position of a consistent materialistic view of society.

Most clearly related to general theoretical sociology are the specific sociological theories which study the social structure in all its aspects and the sociology of small groups, including a specific small group such as the family, and the sociology of the individual. As early as the 1960s, A. G. Kharchev defined the subject of Marxist-Leninist sociology of the family (unlike the specific sciences which study one aspect or another of family life) as follows: the family (and marriage) "are studied by this sociology as an integral social phenomenon, from the point of view of its commonality with other social phenomena, to begin with, secondly, from the viewpoint of its specifics and, thirdly, from the viewpoint of its laws and long-term development" (14). The requirement of overall consideration, including the unity between the material and spiritual aspects of family life and its ties with other social phenomena, which presumes the study of the general and specific

factors and the consideration of the family in its development, are the very aspects of the sociological approach we pointed out, but only classified somewhat differently.

A number of statements by other Soviet scientists, who have specialized in the field of sociological theories of the social structure, small groups, individuals, the law, religion, the arts, etc., could be cited, showing that some formulation differences do not make us question the commonality of initial positions. The subject, method and conceptual apparatus of individual sociological theories of this type providing, naturally, that they are developed from Marxist positions, are defined by the principles of general sociological theory--historical materialism. This applies to the individual sociological theories which study specific areas of human activities.

Let us take the sociology of education as an example. Education can (and should) be considered above all as a specific, necessary and very important area of human activities which equally involves those who teach and educate as well as those who are taught and educated. In the broad meaning of the term, education is a necessary aspect of communication among people and of their reciprocal influence and, therefore, changes in social relations. However, under contemporary conditions education has become exceptionally institutionalized. In terms of number of people, education is one of the main economic sectors in the USSR. Today, when school reform has become a vital task, the sociology of education assumes priority as one of the leading sectors in sociological science. The process of separating the sociology of education from the science of education (and from psychology, the economics of education, etc.) is continuing (15).

The party-mindedness of Marxist sociology and subordinating research targets to the basic tasks of party policy presume broadening the scale of study of specific social problems, which must always proceed from the principles of general Marxist theoretical sociology and theory of scientific communism. As Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, pointed out, today "it is particularly important to emphasize specific accomplishments and to achieve real and substantial results. It is precisely on their basis that the party will assess the maturity of leading cadres, the work of labor collectives and the achievements of republics, oblasts and all national economic sectors in our country (3).

The specific accomplishments of Marxist-Leninist science involve the steady enhancement of its practical efficiency. This requires further intensification on all levels of theoretical knowledge of social life and, above all, interpretation of the new processes which are taking place in contemporary Soviet society, from the positions of historical materialism.

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SUBSTANTIATION OF INTERPRETATION SCHEMES

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(signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 22-34

[Article by G. S. Batygin: "Substantiation of Interpretation Schemes."
Gennadiy Semenovich Batygin is candidate of philosophical sciences and senior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. Our journal has carried his articles "Logical-Theoretical Substantiation of Indicators in Sociological Research" (No 3, 1979); "Correlation Between Concepts and Variables in Sociological Research" (No 3, 1981); "Substantiation of Practical Recommendations in Applied Sociology" (No 4, 1982) and others]

[Text] ... True culture is much less related to the accumulation of actual knowledge than is usually believed. It is rather a certain ability to understand, to refract and to think. To be a cultured person does not mean to crowd one's brain with figures, dates and names. It is the ability and standard of judgment, logical exigency, desire for proof and understanding of the complexity of things and the difficulty of problems." Jean Rostan.

Facts and their interpretation are two of the most essential components of scientific knowledge. Despite the entire obviousness of such a demarcation, "His Majesty" the fact does not exist by itself, cleansed of any mental content provided by theory. The history of science convincingly proves that even efforts to "record" events cannot be based on overt or covert assumptions relative to their meaning and significance. Furthermore, strictly research activities do not begin in the least with gathering and analyzing facts but with a perception of the real social problem which stands "behind" the facts, so to say, and which allows the scientific interpretation of their meaning. The answer to "what does this fact mean?" is the most common, the nominal definition of interpretation which, naturally, logically follows the empirical object, but which actually precedes it, by offering the possibility of including the fact with the system of scientific knowledge even before it has been obtained. In our view, it is precisely interpretation which is the basic heuristic action which links together theory with empirical fact.

An interesting and productive debate is under way in literature on the object and structure of the science of sociology (2-3). The researchers' greatest attention is drawn on the correlation between general sociological theory--

historical materialism and individual disciplines--and empirical methods. Setting aside the question of the accuracy of a "triple-level" concept, let us note that it is based above all on concepts of the extent of the range of social reality and does not mean any enhancement or belittling of the degree of "theory" with a transition to one level of knowledge or another. In distinguishing between the theoretical and the empirical it would be simplistic to assume that theory stands "above" practice. Rather it is a question of two interpenetrating orientations of scientific knowledge (4). Naturally, conclusions relative to the laws governing the historical process are immeasurably more important than the study of local interrelationships. However, the logical-theoretical or, rather, the discursive component¹ is present in any act of scientific knowledge, independent of the latter's level and scale. The accuracy and practical efficiency of sociological research depend not only on the accuracy and reliability of data but also on the quality of scientific conclusions which do not "stand above" practice but become interwoven in the living fabric of the research process in all its stages.

Our considerations are focused on the interpretation scheme, which is a distinctive scientific conclusion "cell." Although we already provided the nominal-abstract definition of interpretations, it would be expedient to turn to their specific situational manifestations in the daily practice of the sociologist. By exaggerating somewhat, all sociological activities could be described as interpretational: a person included in a random survey is considered a respondent; the realities of his life and his statements are interpreted in figures and "blind" questionnaires; primary sociological information is interpreted in terms of average values, dispersion measures and correlation coefficients; digital data must be accompanied by various thoughts, i.e., once again they are being interpreted. In the final account, one cannot guarantee that the judgments of the sociologist will be interpreted by his audiences or readers in precisely the way he expects. Although the latter type of interpretation occasionally goes beyond the framework of "pure" science, understandably interpretation is a kind of *differentia specifica* of a scientific conclusion in all its manifestations. Essentially, it is a question of a change of semantics of scientific terminology in converting from one linguistic level to another. Actually, such "transitional zones" consist of interrelated dyad-implications ("if...then..."), each one of which is a separate link in the chain of arguments. Actually, it is not mandatory in the least for all of them to be impeccable from the syllogistic viewpoint. This requirement applies only to axiomatically structured systems. Sociology, being oriented not toward the creation of "accurate" but abstract models and the study of real-life processes, entirely admits interpretations which in his time P. Lazarsfeld described as "vague images" (6, p 138).

It is entirely obvious that in empirical interpretation of abstract concepts a certain amount of information is lost and new ideas and connotations are brought in. The same occurs in the theoretical interpretation of empirical data. Furthermore, any interpretation, even the most ordinary and trivial (such as that of a person as a respondent) means abstracting ourselves from some essential features and is possible only under the condition of a non-equivalent "translation" from one language into another. In the entire set

of problems which arises here, let us pay attention to the internal heuristics of interpretations: what are the cognitive means (logical, semantic, psychological, rhetorical, etc.) employed by the researcher in making his "translations"?

Before we answer the question, let us determine why the object of discussion is described as an interpretation scheme. All interpretations are situational. They are inseparably related to the object content of the area of social life to which it pertains and, in that sense, is both conventional and unique. However, the object content of interpretative activities will be of interest to us on a purely illustrative level. The main features are the common methodological schemes which form a kind of framework of traditional explanatory models in sociological language.

In sociology, as in any area of knowledge which uses the empirical method, the problem of the objective content of scientific terms is a grave one. The history of positivism and the natural science school in "behavioral" sciences proved the unpromising nature of efforts to demarcate and free the conceptual apparatus from "metaphysical" encrustations. Although even within the framework of positivism itself (particularly as a result of phenomenological criticism of the empirical method) the constructive heuristic role of nonformalized cognitive means has become universally acceptable, the research concept of total application of experimental models (in the broad meaning of the term) continues to dominate the mass awareness of sociologists. The "rationalization" of this concept rests on the overt or covert prejudice according to which verifiable heuristic structures (a point scale, percentile breakdown, empirical typology, mean values and correlations) reflect objective reality more accurately and concretely compared to nonformalized categories. The latter are frequently described as abstract, meaning a lack of correlation between them and any type of reality. Studies have proved that a sociological "calculation" may be as remote from life as any scholastic intellectual exercise. However, by materializing artifacts it creates the illusion of their real existence. In general P. Sorokin is right by describing the attraction for seven-point scales as "quantumphrenia" (quoted from 7, p 175). It would be simplistic to deny, as do the phenomenologists, for example, the epistemological potential of experimental methods. The problem is to define their possibilities in each specific case, to avoid ascribing it extraneous functions and mandatorily to provide a meaningful reconstruction of the overall object "broken down" into parameters.

It is precisely the interpretational scheme which "includes" empirical data within the explanatory context and which enables us to correlate new facts with already known scientific laws or, strictly speaking, to convert them into knowledge. What is the mechanism for the interpretation for sociological facts? The set of instruments used in research for collecting and analyzing information is based on the technology of the investigation of hypotheses, developed in the natural sciences, hypotheses which, as we know, should satisfy the requirement of strict monosemantics, based on the law of the excluded third and block the use of "incomprehensible" terms. Obviously, within the framework of said technology (precisely technology rather than methodology!) we can consider as interpreted only facts and characteristics

which are equivalent to already existing linguistic terms, while the balance is rejected consciously or subconsciously. Anything incomprehensible is considered a so-called noise which hinders the conduct of the experiment. The result is the unrestrained extensive accumulation of "invoices" which, at a certain stage turn "bad," to use Hegel's expression. For example, the various percentile breakdowns with which sociological publications are crowded, are reproduced again and again in dozens of satisfaction studies (based on the classical triad "yes, no, I don't know" or on the five-point scale). Ignoring the question of their information value, we can confidently say that in this case no qualitative increase in scientific knowledge could result.

Phenomenological critique qualifies such technology as positivistic (7). We disagree. The use of one instrument or another for data gathering and analysis cannot be a valid criterion in judging the methodological orientation of the researcher. In themselves, scales and computations are no prerogatives of positivism in the least, which considers the correlation of cognitive means with objective reality a pseudoscientific problem. The rational kernel of phenomenological criticism of measurement methods lies in the fact that the technology of the "strict" investigation of hypotheses may impose upon the researcher simplified "rational" interpretation schemes, which would coarsen social reality, and in which all situational characteristics or deviations from the normative model (R. Merton) would be qualified as obstruction.

The key element in the interpretation scheme is the determination of the specifics of the social fact, the reality which defines the qualitative characteristics of the methodology of sociological knowledge. Unlike empiricism, which is based on the binary system of cognitive relations between "subject and object," dialectical-materialistic sociology proceeds from the fact that social qualities are not only shaped within the system of interaction among individuals, social groups and society at large but that the social aspect is the only form of their existence. To isolate the social fact from the system of its interconnections means to ignore the indirect nature of human knowledge which begins not with isolation but with relations between a person and another person, a culture and a society (8, p 139).

It is obvious that the mastery of social norms and concepts of beauty and essence and vital priorities and values can be understood only in relation to specific social situations and the dynamics of social development as a whole. However complete and specific obtained information may be, it is always housed within a specific "system of coordinates" and acts as a fragment of a broader picture the content of which is the scientific and practical experience of the sociologist. Even "trivial" characteristics such as sex, age and level of education, which "contain" within themselves complex social phenomena relative to sex and age differentiation and qualities of educational training, do not fit within the framework of measurement models. On the surface they appear as code signs and ciphers. That is why the separation of "facts of consciousness" from status characteristics by B. Sh. Badi and A. N. Malinkin (8, p 140), based on obvious methods (a familiar fiction character would describe such facts as "medicinal"), is essentially groundless.

Naturally, the strict methods used in testing a hypothesis are not focused on establishing the profound social context of the studied interconnections but merely provide the starting material and "food for thought." A closer consideration reveals that in itself a formalized study of data needs no correlation with any vital reality whatsoever. In this sense statistical breakdowns are self-sufficient and present an idealized object which does not require any object reference in order to be given a scientific interpretation. Thus, if we are familiar with the variants and their frequency we would hardly need additional information as to what they mean in terms of a primary data analysis: the computation of averages, dispersion, similarity to normal distribution, etc. Furthermore, references to studied realities may hinder the activities of the analytical scientist and A. Erenberg is perfectly justified in opening a presentation of statistical methods with "pure" digital series not accompanied by any explanatory text (9). The meaningful component here is quite deliberately taken beyond the framework of the analysis and the substitution of "explanatory" elements comes after the calculations.

We have given a somewhat exaggerated (although from the training viewpoint entirely accurate) system of formal analysis of data to demonstrate the qualitative distinction between it and specifically sociological interpretations. It has become an elementary truth that digital models should be based on meaningful principles. However, methodical literature usually ignores the fact that the studies of said types of analysis, indistinguished on the level of daily practical research, essentially share few common features. This is not merely a matter of antipathy for figures as a symbol and as the most important element of multiplicity, noted by E. Noel (10, p 37), indifferent toward personal individuality, but of the contraposition between two paradigms of social knowledge existing within the framework of European culture: the emotional-imagistic and the rational-analytical. Therefore, in terms of upgrading the quality and reliability of research it is insufficient to emphasize the unity between formal and meaningful methods. In order to achieve their real unity it is expedient to make a more detailed study of the qualitative gnosiological differences between them.

Therefore, we deem it possible to distinguish between the strictly sociological interpretation of a scheme from the numerical methods for data analysis, which can be used with equal success in all fields of knowledge. This should not be interpreted as an attempt to separate quantitative from substantive methods. Furthermore, considering the scale at which mathematics is used in sociology, such an attempt would prove to be naive and the successful development of sociology would be inconceivable without numerical measuring and modeling methods.

These considerations apply both to formal analytical models which sum up information and to the traditional sociological "question-answer" system. It would be more accurate to describe it as "ask a question and you get an answer," for without an explanation of the context of the communication sought and without the overall social reality against the background of which the interaction of the subject with with object takes place, this scheme turns into the behavioral "stimulus-reaction" dyad.

The distinction between the formal and the substantive types of interpretation could be considered scholastic and nonconstructive if acting in a syncretic unity not only in words but in deeds. Unfortunately, practical experience proves the opposite. As a rule, in planning their research sociologists focus their efforts on inventing as many original questions as possible. A characteristic pseudoscientific paradigm has even developed: the more interesting the question the more interesting the results. In other words, the scientific novelty and nontrivial nature of a sociological study are reduced to unusual information. However, in itself, however unusual it may be, a piece of information is of no major cognitive value.

"Let the data speak for themselves." This aphorism expressed by Erenberg indicates that empirical information plays mainly an auxiliary role subject to specific research targets (naturally, if we mean by the latter the identification of real problems and the search of ways to resolve them). Orientation toward empirical data is no characteristic feature of sociological thinking in the least.² Nor is it inherent in statistics, which tries to identify in the various figures the laws, structural relations and interconnections "on the side" of numerical computations. Furthermore, nontrivial empirical data is very rarely found in proper research and the experienced specialist uses them not without a certain apprehension. Obviously, the "Tviman Law," according to which "any figure which is of interest to the researcher or is unusual is, as a rule, wrong" has a certain validity (9, p 24).

Therefore, we have seen that the strictly sociological interpretation is "on the far side" of empirical data and is determined by the specific nature of the phenomenon or process under study. It includes the concept of a specific situation which includes the act of measurement (observation, survey, experiment, etc.). The latter becomes one of the elements of a life situation, i.e., a target of study which greatly determines the nature in which the observed characteristic is manifested.

Let us consider the example of a sociological interpretation which goes beyond the "stimulus-reaction" dyad. The sociologist's question was the following: "You have probably come across various shortcomings which hinder you and those who surround you from living and working. Have you taken any action (steps) to eliminate such shortcomings? If yes, give one or two examples...." The answer was the following: "After repeated talks and urgings, fitter Ivanov stood up." In analyzing this methodical situation, Badi and Malinkin note the following parameters of the interpretation scheme: "Is this answer 'to the point'? Could it be qualified as an indication of shortcomings and if so, which ones specifically? The expression 'stood up' presumes that the respondent had in mind a specific type of deviant behavior (Drunkenness? Dependence? Lack of discipline?), but precisely which one remains unclear. Furthermore, the very indication of deviant behavior becomes clear only because it is interpreted on the basis of common experience in handling certain situations in which this expression is normally used. He even 'intuitively' realizes how frequently this type of expression is used, i.e., he is familiar with the social portrait of the respondent" (8, pp 137-138).

Obviously, common experience means something more than the ordinary concept of the researcher. It is a question of a specific form of idealized object in terms of social knowledge, which includes unstructured and even fictionalized components. "Pure" cognitive models, used within the limits of a positivistic tradition and based on the concept of isomorphic depiction of empirical data do not allow us to assess them other than as annoying but inevitable distortions of reality which must be immediately eliminated. In the final account, it is assumed that as acting as an instrument which records dispassionately the importance of previously established variables, the researcher does not bring into the studied reality anything "personal."³ Need we prove that in his desire to eliminate subjectivism he frequently "throws the baby out with the bathwater?" Naturally, under no circumstances is it possible to eliminate the influence of the researcher. However, in such an interpretation the data are limited to a "pure" natural scientific scheme: a hypothesis is formulated, relevant variables are introduced, data are computed and a conclusion is formulated on the verification (falsification) of the initial assumption. Along with the ordinary world of the interpreter, parenthetically variables, essential in understanding the situation are introduced, which, in terms of the "pure" model are at best classified as "other."

Therefore, the sociological interpretation of a scheme includes, along with the verification model, nonformalized and frequently nonreflexed (and in that sense ordinary) concepts, knowledge and experience of the researcher,⁴ which in their totality constitute the specific context of the scientific conclusion in sociology.⁵ The concept of the context, borrowed from literature, expresses in our view most accurately the methodological requirement of the meaningful unity of heuristic means and the consistency between the scientific language and the specific content of the social fact.⁶

In considering the language of contemporary scientific theory it would be simplistic to assume that it consists of discrete "bricks," each of which refers to any given objective symptom. In addition to the meaning of the terms, the context is defined by their sensory interconnection, expressiveness, stylistic coloring, and connotation parameters or, in a word, by anything which characterizes the world-perception of the researcher, combined with a scientific interpretation of reality. On this level it would be expedient to raise the question of the constructive-heuristic role of scientific rhetoric which is usually denigrated. Yet a skillfully chosen word could explain the essence of something more accurately than many pages written in officialese, which is a sin so frequently committed by sociologists.

The separation of the word from experimental knowledge, which was clearly established as early as the high Middle Ages and obtained its final form in the rationalism of modern times,⁷ is now considered a perfectly natural and inevitable prerequisite for cognitive activities. However, the word not only reflects truth but also contains it within its cultural-semantic depth. In the final account, the truth is revealed with the word and by the world. Therefore, it is improper to identify rhetoric with demagoguery, which is characteristic of the scientismic style of thinking. It is precisely within the framework of the latter that a specific genre--sociological demagoguery--supported by senseless figures has developed and acts quite confidently.

Therefore, the interpretation scheme includes a set of formalized, nonformalized and rhetorical cognitive means, each one of which plays a specific role in establishing the essential features of a studied reality. However, this does not exhaust the entire problem. The question of the objective content of sociological interpretation should be discussed in this light. What is being interpreted? To interpret data, facts or terms means limiting ourselves to tautology. In our view, what is essential is that the meanings of the interpreted object are not inherent within it but must be identified on a qualitatively different level of scientific knowledge. In saying that the scope of variations in the opinions of the respondents indicates a degree of their homogeneity and that "incompatible characters" is a reason for divorce and that anticipation is the ability to predict the future, the sociologist thus ascribes to this cognitive structure new meanings, thus achieving an understanding of indicated real situations. Obviously, such semantic confusions are a source of errors caused by the arbitrary interpretation of one characteristic or another and so-called "artifacts" (D. Campbell (17, pp 211-234)) or quasi-erroneous agreements (B. Z. Doktorov (18, p 23)).

Operational definitions are a typical object of interpretation in applied sociology. Unlike operationalism, which acknowledges as scientific operational terminology alone, the Marxist methodology of science considers them one type of definition which brings to light the theoretical meaning of concepts on the level of measurable operations. Consequently, the semantics of said definitions is limited by a list of the actions of the experimenter, aimed at obtaining corresponding data. The methodological difficulties stemming from differences between operational and conceptual definitions have been analyzed in scientific publications. Within the limitations of this article, one aspect of this problem is of interest: if the various operational definitions provide a base for uncoordinated (and frequently conflicting) interpretations, does this not mean the "vanishing" of the actual, the integral social fact from the sight of the researcher?

Let us consider specific methodical situations which arise in population surveys. The study of value orientations of engineers, conducted by V. A. Yadov and associates, determined that the disposition shown by the individuals largely failed to coincide with situational circumstances (19). O. M. Maslova found out that assessing the activities of a foreman with a description was substantially different from the results of the use of "logical structures" (20, pp 162-165). B. Sh. Badi and A. N. Malinkin have proved that the question "What do you mean by 'living well'?" is not in the least a determination of the "concept of life" but qualitatively heterogeneous layers of ordinary awareness (8, pp 140-143). Similar results were obtained by us in the study of behavior stereotypes (21).

The interpretation of conflicting data cannot fail to take into consideration their operational definitions which include not only the description of the measurement procedure but which also indicate the characteristics of the interaction among the object, the conditions of the observation and the researcher himself. In terms of applied sociology, it was I. S. Alekseyev and F. M. Borodkin who raised the concept by suggesting that the supplemental concept be used in the study of such situations. "In this case not reality

itself, which exists independent of the observer, but the system consisting of the object (in the classical meaning of the term) and the conditions of the observation by which we mean the combination of measurement procedures, including the means and methods of measurement and the observer (researcher) himself, related to the observed system that turns out to be the object of the study," the authors wrote (22, p 41). Abstracting ourselves from pitting reality against the system of "object-condition of observation-observer" which, naturally, is based on erroneous terminology, let us note that operational definitions--a tool without which empirical sociological science is inconceivable--reveal not only the existing "entelechy" of the object but a situational projection of the object. Naturally, such projections could be an infinity and the author of the statement is generally accurate by linking them to a system of observations. If we assume the opposite (that operational definitions reflect objective reality alone) it would be the equivalent of identifying the essence with its variety of manifestations.⁸

Is there a reason to consider the various operational definitions as supplementary? It would be hardly possible to answer the question today in the affirmative. If we relate supplementality only to operations of measurement,⁹ according to the familiar rule of "not multiplying the essence without necessity" (Occam), such additionality should be considered entirely unnecessary. In this respect we consider as sufficiently constructive S. V. Ostapenko's view: "Is it possible to do without supplements? Absolutely, providing that we acknowledge all the characteristics of the objective world and knowledge, the expression of which it is..." (25, p 44). As it interacts with the various measurement systems, the object establishes its various functions, which are frequently noncoincidental and conflicting.¹⁰ If it can be proven through the practice of sociological research that there exists in the social sphere paradoxes similar, for example, to corpuscular-undular dualism, it would not be excluded that the complementary principle may play a constructive rather than a nominally heuristic role. So far no convincing proof of the existence of such facts exist. Contradictions between dispositional and situational concepts (V. A. Yadov), structured and unstructured evaluations (O. M. Maslov) and real interests and statements (I. M. Popov and V. B. Moin), to use Hegel's term, are not "laid" within the inner nature of the object (which makes it even more erroneous to consider such contradictions as sources of development) but are the result of natural differences in experimental-methodical situations. Actually, it is possible that contradictions determined through empirical methods are based not on the objective dialectics of social development but on the conversion to a new stage in the "ladder of systemic substantiations" (V. P. Kuz'min (27, pp 29-33)), according to which the "opposites" apply to qualitatively different levels (and, consequently, objects) of analysis, indistinguished at the preceding level of knowledge. Therefore, it is a question of an error known in logic as "a sensu composito ad sensum divisum" (in which conclusions applied to the entity are improperly applied to its parts). This is an error which is, in a certain sense, positively based on the intensified knowledge of reality rather than on error of judgment. The practice of sociological provides many examples of this. Thus, in analyzing the systems of values and "consciousness facts," we ordinarily proceed from the assumption of the homogeneous mental space and the existence of an intersubjective and extratemporal scale

of values which determines the hierarchy of priorities. However, Badi and Malinkin have convincingly proved that the contradictions which exist here are explained by mixing certain qualities of different mental levels (8, p 140), and the organizers of mass surveys do not always realize what it is that they are actually surveying. This exceptionally interesting hypothesis was tested by Popova and Moin (28). Having established that workers at industrial enterprises are both willing and unwilling to earn high wages, they proved that this contradiction stems from the coexistence of two social phenomena within the mass consciousness: normative concepts of the role of money in the life of society and the desire to earn more. Consequently, the promotion of uncoordinated operational definitions may act as a constructive methodical requirement which ensures the quality of data and the depth of scientific conclusions. However, this does not mean in the least that the introduction of additional interpretation systems becomes necessary.

We formulated two interrelated questions: What is being interpreted and does the real social fact "vanish" from the view of the researcher? As a result of a reduction of conceptual views to a series of measurement operations, the direct object which exists in the empirical experience indeed "disappears" in order to reappear in idealized models. However, the "disappearance" of the sensory concreteness in the abstract language of science is paralleled by singling out within it of what is most essential and universal, which lies "beyond" the variety of realities of the daily world. The process of interpretation turns the single into the general, explaining the fact that on the level of observations it is represented by stochastically organized "flows" of events. Furthermore, neither events nor facts are interpreted. They are merely the sensory-specific material on which abstract-idealized structures of operational definitions are "laid on." The ideal-specific significance becomes the direct object of interpretation: the gradation of the scale, the statement, the points, the numerical series, etc. Unlike facts and events, all of this can be combined within a single word--data. It is precisely data which constitute the starting point, a kind of antecedent dyad-implication "if...then....," which are the base of interpretation systems.

Therefore, a sociological interpretation system cannot fail to ignore the situational nature of the measured features and characteristics, many of which are manifested only as relations. This creates the possibility of using in the methodology and logic of sociological research the intentional computation and the apparatus of dispositive predicates.¹¹ The disposition (d-predicate) is interpreted in logic as an unclear characteristic introduced on the basis of a certain sum of predicates of observation with the help of so-called reduction pairs (30). In this sense the opinion of the respondent (as well as any other variable) is a d-predicate, correlated to a certain experimental situation, the parameters of which must be necessarily taken into consideration in interpreting the results of the study.¹² We fully agree with the view of E. M. Chudinov and V. I. Zolotarov, who believed that the concept of the disposition predicate is rather extensive and that its possibilities are insufficiently used (32, pp 203-204).

We already determined that what is interpreted is not events but data. However, the interpretation system is established even before the latter are "perceived." In a certain sense, it receives data "determined" within an

already prepared system and transform in connection with a loose but predetermined and sufficiently firm algorithm. At this point the legitimate question arises as to the sources of the formation of interpretation systems, which form its status nascendi. The process of establishment of the latter is inseparably linked with the formation of concepts and other means of knowledge. To this extent it exceeds the limits of specialized scientific activities. In its most general aspect the interpretation could be considered in terms of the theory of recognition (33), for it is a question of a chain of depictions of a certain set of "stimuli" (perception elements) in sensations, views, images and concepts which contain in their totality its internal context.¹³ Unlike natural scientific systems, the recognition of social characteristics is based not merely and exclusively on "paper" information but is within the framework of the daily experience of the sociologist. The main thing here is a consideration of social problems, i.e., the interpretation of the observed variables as "symptoms" of one situation or another, requiring practical intervention. It frequently happens that interpretation is replaced by a communication on the same data but in a different form: for example, one could "interpret" a table by presenting it with the help of more or less convincing terminology. Naturally, in this case nothing is added to scientific knowledge. Consequently, the first postulate for the interpretation of data is the existence in the researcher of a summed-up intuitive-hypothetical image (described more accurately as his "protoconcept") with the help of which corresponding facts are "expected," their initial selection takes place and, in the final account, an explanation is reached. In addition to general erudition and experience, the characteristic sociocultural and psychological complex which is usually described as the style of scientific thinking, is of major importance in data recognition and interpretation.

As a specific case of identification, interpretation cannot, naturally, be reduced to a reciprocal simple consistency between the observed characteristic and the corresponding "cell" of the memory system. Essentially, it goes beyond the range not only of sensory data but of already "accepted" mental recognition systems.¹⁴

Based on the scientific paradigm (T. Kun (36)) which prescribes how and through what means to collect, analyze and interpret data, the thinking style of the researcher imposes specific epistemological limitations on the activities of the sociologist.¹⁵ In particular, the meanings and thoughts which he uses in interpreting facts and events are largely determined not by the principles of impersonal "rationality" but by personal broader vital concepts. D. Walsh reasonably claims that "sociologists use motives for the study of social actions actually in the same way as this is practiced by ordinary people in daily life" (7, p 73). However, nothing else is possible. The role of impartial observer, who looks at the world through the lens of nonhistorical and universally significant (on the surface) categories is not only unacceptable to the true scientist but is today the direct opposite of scientific conscientiousness. In this respect the sociologists are hardly different from "common people," who independently adopt their life stance, including in their profession, and their full responsibility for it.

The daily human world does not categorically oppose formal measurement structures. The awareness of this fact is having an increasingly influence on the style of sociological thinking, enabling us to adopt a critical attitude toward achievements while, at the same time, offering new possibilities of the development of science and intensifying its practical potential.

In defining the object and specifics of sociological knowledge we must raise the question not only of what is being studied but how. Such is the general conclusion of this article, the "super task" of which is to interpret in an epigraph the statement by J. Rostan applicable to the daily work of the sociologist, of the problem of shaping a true standard of scientific thinking.

The development of sociological research was initially characterized as the mastery of traditional methods of gathering, processing and analyzing information, and increasing the specialization of sociologists in individual areas. The extensive development of sociological research triggered, along with specialized developments, a vast sector of "nonprofessional" sociological (or rather parasociological) activities, along with specialized developments, oriented, as a rule, exclusively toward the gathering of information. "Surveys" became particularly popular. Today the quality of research demands the intensive development of sociological science: the reinterpretation of the heuristic possibilities of traditional forms of information gathering and the elaboration of new and efficient means of integration of science with practice. "Any underestimating of the role of Marxist-Leninist science and its creative development, and the narrow pragmatic interpretation of its tasks and neglect of fundamental theoretical problems as well as the intensification of circumstantial influences or scholastic theorizing are fraught with serious political and ideological consequences" (1). The mastery of sociological technique is a necessary but insufficient prerequisite for true professionalism and the party-mindedness and civic responsibility of the scientists. The quality of scientific conclusion and the depth of understanding of facts are inseparably related to high philosophical-conceptual standards and the creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The concept of discursive knowledge is encountered as early as in Plato's "Dialogues." Plato distinguished it from sensations, opinions and intuitions. Discursive knowledge is the result of judgments and logical arguments (5, pp 81-83). In any case, it is indirect and demands substantiation.
2. As A. G. Kharchev points out, "The main content of specific sociological studies is the scientific theoretical analysis of social problems; empirical information and procedures for its acquisitions, classification and prime summation are merely a prerequisite and an initial stage" (3, p 63).
3. "We must begin with the assumption that we are totally ignorant of the group or the problem we shall research, with the exception of the purely formal criteria, which enable us to distinguish between data referring to the realm of our interests and data which do not," is the methodological stipulation of W. Thomas and F. Znanetskiy (quoted from 11, p 133).
4. In criticizing the aspiration of "squeezing everything within formulas," G. Kh. Shakhnazarov notes that "we must leave some space for imagination and intuition and for something known as inspiration which, in fact, is none other than the result of experience" (12, p 43).
5. To the best of our knowledge, the concept of context applicable to the methodology of sociological research has been used by a number of specialists, including D. Walsh, M. Philipson, D. Silverman (7), G. M. Andreyeva (13) and V. B. Golofast (14) without, however, becoming accepted for general use.
6. In explaining the methodological content of the concept of "context," it would be pertinent to make a literary parallel by recalling the basic example of A. Block's description of Gaetan in the play "The Rose and the Cross:" "Not the sight but the eyes, not the hair but the curls, not the mouth but the lips." Similar situations can be easily found in the practice of sociological research. Not to mention the literary style of scientific reports and publications, indicators and operational definitions may "drop out of the context" (in which case they are described as irrelevant).
7. Interesting examples of scientific heuristics are found, for example, in scholia, the accuracy of which has been essentially irrelevant in terms of procedures which we would describe today as verificational. A rather indicative legend in this connection may be found in historical-philosophical literature (as presented by V. L. Rabinovich). Once the "angelic doctor" Thomas Aquinas and the "universal doctor" Albert the Great started an argument in the courtyard of the university in Paris as whether the mole has eyes. This verbal tournament lasted for several hours with no results. The opponents held onto their views firmly and arduously. A gardener happened to pass by. He overheard this scientific dispute and offered his services: "If you wish," he said, "it would take

me but a moment to bring you a real live mole. You can look at it yourselves. This will settle your argument." "Absolutely not. Never! We are arguing about a principle: Is there in principle principle eyes in a principle mole..." (15, p 137). In scholasticism logistics and intuition took the place of reality and were taken themselves as reality. A different position is characteristic of Francis Bacon, who formulated the idea of reorganizing science on the basis of instrumental knowledge--"the new Organon." At this point knowledge becomes the same as experience and the prescription of the apostle Paul of "avoid ignorant novelty in pseudo-scientific words and arguments" was ascribed direct practical significance by Bacon as a manual for action "not only for his time but for later ages" (16, p 106). The purpose of such an extensive reminiscence is to prove the essential differences of the possibilities of words and experience. To prove and to show are entirely different heuristic operations. The reason for which the great scholasticists were unwilling to look at a live mole was their need for extralinguistic means which would ensure the provability of the conclusion rather than a direct perception.

8. This view is characteristic of phenomenology and, to a certain extent, neorealism. In our view, the problem is not resolved also by M. Bunge's suggestion of using operational definitions only if theoretical definitions have been formulated and limiting their functions with consistency rules (23).
9. This can be confirmed by N. Bohr's statement that "two viewpoints on the nature of light are rather two different efforts at interpreting experimental data in which the limited nature of classical concepts finds a reciprocally complementing expression" (24, p 32).
10. "The function of systems is a manifestation of properties and qualities of a system interacting with other objects of a systemic and nonsystemic order, an expression of a relatively stable reaction of the system to changes in its inner state and external environment, a reaction to the disturbing internal and external influence and a characteristic specific means of behavior of the system and a means of resolving contradictions between the system and its environment," V. G. Afanas'yev writes (26, p 44).
11. The logic of disposition predicates was used by Ye. Kh. Nersesova in the study of gnosiological foundations of social indicators (29).
12. After analyzing the "effect of the interviewer" in an ex post facto experiment, G. A. Pogosyan reached the conclusion that if in an anonymous survey the answers of the respondent may be interpreted on the level of data summation, the use of an open survey requires a consideration of the concepts of the interviewer (31, p 166). The contact situation makes the "answer" a disposition characteristic.
13. "A certain 'recognition standard', i.e., an integral picture which enables us to identify its ever-new manifestations developed after lengthy training and repeated identification of various class realizations," V. G.

Grishin writes. "At this point this becomes a familiar image built in within the preceding study of the hierarchy of images stored in the permanent memory of the person" (34, p 23).

14. F. Bartlett described this process as follows: "Whenever a person interprets experimental data (regardless of their source) and his interpretation contains characteristics which cannot be entirely classified as sensory observations or perceptions, the indication is that the person is thinking. The trouble is that no one has ever had the opportunity to observe such a use of experimental data by a person which would not contain features outside the range of a direct perception by the sensory organs. Hence...in all cases people think when they operate with experimental data. However, by adopting such a point of view we immediately find ourselves in an endless and tempestuous ocean of a great variety of problems" (quoted from 35, pp 211-212).
15. A similar view was expressed by V. B. Golofast in analyzing the concept of the "form of science" (14, pp 59-60).

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PERFECTING SOCIAL PLANNING

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 84
(signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 35-42

[Article by V. N. Ivanov: "Topical Problems of Perfecting Social Planning." Vilen Nikolayevich Ivanov is doctor of philosophical sciences, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research and author of more than 70 works on scientific communism and propaganda sociology. Some of his monographs, training aids and pamphlets include: "Leninskiye Idei o Nauchnom Upravlenii Sotsialisticheskim Obshchestvom" [Lenin's Ideas on the Scientific Management of Socialist Society] (1970); "Nauchnoye Upravleniye Sotsialisticheskim Obshchestvom" [Scientific Management of Socialist Society]; "Sovershenstvovaniye Nauchnogo Upravleniya Sotsialisticheskim Obshchestvom" [Improving Scientific Management of Socialist Society] (1974); "Sistema Upravleniya Trudovym Kollektivom" [System of Labor Collective Management] (1977); and others. He is the author of a number of articles published in our journal, such as "Sociological Research and Propaganda Work" (No 2, 1980), "Sociological Science on the Level of Contemporary Tasks of Social Development" (No 4, 1983), and others]

[Text] Under mature socialist conditions the significance of planning social development rises steadily. This is determined, above all, by economic successes, which open a broad scope for progressive changes in the various areas of social life. As was emphasized at the December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "all of our efforts in the economy are directed, in the final account, toward upgrading the living standards of the people. This is the main sociopolitical objective of our plans" (7).

The role of the subjective factor and the significant scientific management activities in all realms of social life increase as Soviet society acquires the features of social integrity. The 26th CPSU Congress noted that "achievements in the development of the economy in resolving social problems could have been more substantial with the fuller use of the advantages offered by a planned economy" (5, p 135); the congress deemed it necessary "to enhance all planning work on a qualitatively new level" (ibid., p 125). These requirements were concretized in the resolutions of the November 1982 and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums. In discussing the implementation of social problems, in his speech to the voters of the Kuybyshev Electoral District in Moscow, K. U. Chernenko clearly formulated the objective of social planning: "We not only wish for the people to be materially better but be healthier physically, developed spiritually, and socially active."

Historical developments have been such that planning as an independent area of social practice obtained its initial substantiation within the framework of the science of economics. This is entirely understandable and explainable, for the most important social and spiritual changes depend on economic progress. However, as the scale of building socialism expanded, the need appeared of broadening the framework of planning activities: it became necessary, in addition to the pace and proportions of economic development, to determine related changes in the social and spiritual areas. Correspondingly, the role of scientific communism and sociology was enhanced, along with that of political economy, in the elaboration of planning-management problems.

It is precisely at the developed socialist stage that our national economic plans fully become plans of economic and social development. More than ever before, they embody the Leninist requirement of considering the economic and social aspects of social progress in a state of organic interconnection. The Marxists, V. I. Lenin emphasized, "were the first socialists who raised the question of the need to analyze not merely the economic but all aspects of social life" (1). In the very first years of the Soviet system, in defining the role of the central planning organs, he noted that the Gosplan must "implement our plan for economic and social construction" (2).

Today, as we know, social planning applies to the production and nonproduction spheres of social life. In order to be more efficient, to begin with it must take more fully into consideration the needs of economic development, the characteristics of the current production-labor situation and the technical, technological and demographic factors which determine it. What is the main feature here?

The leading trend which characterizes the contemporary production-labor situation is the intensification of production processes. Comprehensive mechanization and automation are inseparable elements of the latter. The former could be considered as the necessary transitional step to the latter. Social factors are called upon to play an important role in the extensive application of mechanization and automation. They are not only the "common background" of production intensification but its active incentive as well. Their efficiency is determined by the extent to which social reserves and mechanisms are utilized. In turn, this depends directly and immediately on the quality of social planning.

Reducing the share of physical labor and comprehensive mechanization and automation enhance the share of intellectual components in the labor process and, consequently, increase the requirements concerning skills and the general education and cultural standards of the workers. Currently we find in industry some 450 different skills, the mastery of which presumes special training (11). The quality of manpower resources and their optimal utilization are also among the most important trends in social planning.

Particularly important among the problems which arise here are the systematic retraining of cadres and the steady reinforcement of collectives of workers and engineering and technical personnel oriented toward the latest achievements of science and technology. In our view, such production requirements

(current and future) may be met under the following conditions: 1) defining the contingent of workers and ITR [Engineering and Technical Personnel] who need retraining and change of skills, enhanced qualifications or increased general educational training; 2) planning and implementing corresponding measures; 3) formulating and applying systems for the material and moral incentive of individuals who have mastered new skills; 4) improving working and leisure time conditions; 5) struggle against "anti-incentives," i.e., against factors which hinder the use of progressive methods of organization of labor, equipment and technology.

Radical changes must be made in the conditions under which economic activities take place (12, pp 28-38). Such reorganization must organically include a system of penalties imposed for technical conservatism, unjustified losses and low quality of output. The production process must be organized in such a way that poor work would simply be unprofitable and the material well-being of the worker and his social reputation would be directly dependent on the quantity and quality of his work and a situation in which socialist enterprise and initiative would be comprehensively encouraged.

The ratios between the growth of labor productivity and wages stipulated by the state plan are frequently violated. Wages are growing faster in construction, agriculture and the enterprises of the Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry and some others. In a number of sectors wages have been rising even while labor productivity has declined. In order to retain people in unskilled manual jobs managers are frequently forced artificially to raise their wages, wage rates and bonuses. This lowers the worker's incentive to engage in highly productive work, upgrade his professional skills, etc.

Resolving the problem of making wages dependent on productivity presumes not only upgrading technical facilities and improving the organization of the production process but also developing in every worker an attitude toward labor as the main source of material well-being and the foundation of his civic dignity and the sociomoral assessment of his person. Sociological developments unquestionably play a most important role in providing scientific support for such projects.

Greater attention to social planning should be paid in steps related to reducing manual labor. Currently two-fifths of all workers in industry and three-fifths in construction perform manual labor (13). As we know, ministries and enterprises have formulated corresponding planned assignments. A list of skills has been drawn up, the labor of which will be mechanized on a priority basis. Such steps will affect approximately 5 million people, 1.2 million of whom this very five-year plan. Yet the potential exists for mechanizing the labor of 20-25 million people in the forthcoming decades (14). However, by 1990 and even by the year 2000 the number of underskilled workers will remain significant. Obviously, this circumstance demands the formulation of a number of socially compensating measures applicable to such a category of working people: higher wages and pensions, better-paid leave, etc.

Reducing the share of manual labor is one of the aspects of a most important social problem: that of offering the people the possibility of developing under more favorable conditions than at present and to derive greater satisfaction from their work, i.e., in the final account, the elimination of the major disparities between mental and physical labor.

The creative initiatives and undertakings of the working people are called upon to play an important role in this respect. Thus, the movement "switch manual labor to machines" has become widespread in all economic sectors. Comprehensive target programs for labor mechanization are being implemented in a number of union republics (such as Latvia) and oblasts (Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhe, and others). The efficiency of such measures is confirmed, among others, by computations made by specialists from the USSR State Committee for Labor. During the 11th Five-Year Plan the scientific organization of labor alone can reduce manpower requirements in the national economy by approximately 4 million people (ibid.). Particularly significant opportunities are provided by the introduction of standardized plans for the organization of the workplace (for the mass skills). "To be able promptly to see the people's initiative," K. U. Chernenko emphasized at the February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "in the broadest meaning of the term--from the economical and creative attitude to the work at the workplace to active participation in the management of the state and society--is the greatest, one could say the inexhaustible reserve for our progress" (6).

The optimizing of the production-labor situation also presumes the extensive application of progressive labor methods, such as brigade contracting. Currently it accounts for 60 percent of workers in industry and 32 percent in construction (12, p 9). Today, the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Further Development and Upgrading the Efficiency of the Brigade Form of Labor Organization and Incentive in Industry" emphasizes, brigades are becoming not only the basic production but also the social cell of the labor collective (10). This will require a more closely united ideological, organizational and economic activity in the struggle for upgrading labor productivity and discipline, the implementation of production plans, strengthening the moral and psychological climate, and the extensive participation of the masses in socialist competition. The sociological study of said problems enables us promptly to detect the new trends and to define prospects for the further development of the brigade method, its influence on the growth of social production efficiency and on reducing cadre turnover, etc. It is only on the basis of the comprehensive approach that the sum total of conditions and factors which determine the full implementation of brigade rights, as granted by the USSR law "On Labor Collectives and Upgrading Their Role in the Management of Enterprises, Establishments and Organizations" can be defined (9).

The comprehensive application of the brigade form of labor and the Shchekino and other progressive methods should contribute to the implementation of the plans with fewer workers. Today this circumstance becomes particularly important, for the possibilities of the extensive growth of manpower in the country have been virtually exhausted. This has aggravated the problem of filling jobs. In addition to other steps, the definition of which is the urgent task of sociology, the extensive involvement in public production of

individuals of limited labor capacity (pensioners) could play an essential role in resolving this problem. For example, according to data provided by Leningrad scientists, 52 percent of the pensioners have retained their full ability to work while 27 percent have insignificant limitations. Furthermore, according to the physicians, a drastic lowering of activities as a result of retirement adversely affects the health and leads to intensified physical and mental aging (15). Therefore, participation in socially useful labor of people of retirement age, working part of the day or the week, is important both economically and from the sociohumanistic viewpoint.

Problems of improving the population's health must assume a more important place in social plans than they do today. This task was described as one of the most important "both socially and economically" at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum (8). Today many industrial enterprises have acquired significant experience in protecting the health of the working people, improving working conditions and strictly observing the rules of labor safety and the requirements of industrial hygiene. Thus, for example, at ferrous metallurgy plants physical culture and health-improving measures are planned on the basis of classifying the workers by the functional aspects of their work, sex and age group characteristics. Different types of physical exercises are planned for the individual groups. Particular attention is paid to the following: 1) people engaged in work of average or great physical difficulty; 2) people who do not move sufficiently at their jobs or else experience high nervous-mental stress; 3) people working under complex production-technological conditions which may lead to vocational illnesses. Drafting charts showing the health of the collective, characterizing the level of physical development and psychological training of the workers and assessing the correlation between the factual state of such parameters and scientifically substantiated norms and requirements, has proved to be a useful form of planning (16).

In this area sociological studies will help to determine the set of factors which affect the health of the working people, contribute to improving the activities of plant health services and enable us to determine the social results of treatment and preventive measures. Thus, on the basis of studies conducted at enterprises in Lvov Oblast, a comprehensive target program for the utilization of manpower resources was drafted and is being implemented. In accordance with scientific recommendations, a number of enterprises decided to open medical offices and plant prevention centers and to improve the staffing of medical institutions with skilled cadres and modern medical equipment (17).

The changes which are taking place currently in production forces and production relations, the significance of which was pointed out at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, also required the more active influence of planning on superstructural relations, spiritual-ideological activities and the nonproduction sphere. Each new qualitative shift in the economic base presumes a corresponding increase in the awareness of the people and their cultural and general educational standards. Today, K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, emphasized, it is necessary "to ensure the increasingly close interaction among the economic, social and spiritual

progress of Soviet society. It is impossible to raise the economy to a qualitatively new level without creating the necessary social and ideological prerequisites to this effect. It is equally impossible to resolve the urgent problems of development of a socialist awareness without relying on the firm foundations of economic and social policy" (6).

The need to unify economic, social and spiritual progress in planning faces science, sociology above all, with a number of theoretical and methodological problems which affect the nature, content and role of social planning and its interrelationship with economic planning at the different stages in socialist construction and the dialectics of the general and the specific in the various forms and methods. The profound study of said problems must become the foundation for the all-round elaboration of the theory of social development planning.

In this connection prime attention should be paid to a description of the nature of social production under socialism. We frequently find in literature one-sided or narrow views reduced primarily to the manufacturing of material items, to the "world of objects." Yet, K. Marx pointed out, it must be a question of "production and reproduction" of "production relations themselves," as well as the "bearers of this process and the material conditions of their existence and interrelationships, i.e., of a "certain socio-economic form of the latter" (3).

Under socialism, in which the main purpose of the economy is to satisfy the needs of the working people, "the production of man as the most integral and universal product of society" (4) turns from a condition for into the essence of the production process. This formulation of the matter calls for looking at the perfecting of his organization and enhanced efficiency as organically related to the development of the workers' personality.

Naturally, this does not cover all theoretical-methodological problems. The problems of the general and specific principles of social planning in the various areas and their characteristics on one level or another, efficiency, unity of economic, social and ideological objectives, methods and means of implementation of steps, interaction between planning and forecasting, role of social planning in the development of socialist democracy, etc., are of great importance.

Methodical problems are no less relevant. We agree with authors who consider the work done in this direction by scientific institutions jointly with the USSR Gosplan, the AUCCTU and the USSR State Committee for Labor as being merely initial steps (18). The question of improving planning on the sectorial level is particularly grave, for currently approximately three-quarters of the funds allocated in the country for consumption and nonproduction construction are spent on the basis of the departmental principle. This calls for the elaboration of a general concept and model of social sectorial development for 1990-2000 and beyond it.

Problems such as the structure and methods for plan computations, use of the program-target variant and comprehensive approaches and social experimentation and modeling must be developed further as well. One of the most

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Problems such as the structure and methods for plan computations, use of the program-target variant and comprehensive approaches and social experimentation and modeling must be developed further as well. One of the most

important problems here is to create a system of standard indicators. Such a system should characterize, on the one hand, the social processes themselves and, on the other, the social aspects of economic and scientific and technical development. Its purpose is to ensure the continuity and compatibility of plans on different levels, i.e., to include indicators which are both related and specific for each level. Furthermore, in our view, three types of indicators must be applied: approved, computed and projected.

The first group is computed on the basis of confirmed plan indicators by department authorities, corrected by the territorial bodies. The second is defined on the basis of the confirmed indicators and ensures the fuller and comprehensive description of social development targets. The third reflects aspects the changes of which cannot be made through the direct utilization of economic resources (changes in the way of life, in sociodemographic and spiritual processes, etc.) (19).

The increasingly extensive use of sociological research data is a mandatory prerequisite for the further advancement of planning. Such data enable us to provide a quantitative and qualitative characterization of social processes, to determine their specific problems and contradictions and to establish the social priorities and efficiency of implemented programs. Positive experience has been acquired in this area.

In the Lithuanian SSR, for example, sociological studies have become an intrinsic element in the activities of the republic's coordination council for socioeconomic planning. On the basis of its data the republic's academy of sciences Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law formulated methodical instructions on drafting plans for the social development of labor collectives, while the Gosplan's Scientific Research Institute of Economics and National Economic Planning drafted plans for the cities and rayons. It is thus that the study of the motivations for and satisfaction with the work by workers in industrial enterprises and construction organizations made it possible, as practical experience proved, to earmark very efficient measures aimed at improving working and recreation conditions and to enhance the skills and labor and social activeness of the workers (20).

However, frequently the scientific support of social planning is inconsistent with the requirements of the contemporary stage in building socialism. The role of sociological research could and should be substantially enhanced. The main tasks in this respect were defined at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. It is necessary, above all, to eliminate within a short time a number of widespread shortcomings such as abandoning transitory topics, the results of the study of which are frequently not suitably analyzed or compared with social statistical data; enhancing the scientific level of recommendations and eliminating formalism in their application.

The role of the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI and, above all, the social planning and forecasting department, should be enhanced in order to upgrade the quality of providing methodical support to the various studies. The institute's management has taken a number of steps aimed at concentrating extensive scientific forces in this direction, improving research coordination and strengthening relations between the ISI and the Soviet Sociological Association and, through it, with sociologists in the local areas.

The organization of planning as well must be improved further. This is a question above all of developing in the country a single sociological (sociopsychological) service. Currently there are some 70 sociological departments, sectors, laboratories and groups within the USSR and union republic academies of sciences alone; some 150 sociological centers operate in VUZs and many enterprises have their sociological services. However, their forms and methods of organization and activities of such subunits show great differences.

The most widespread types of sociological services may be classified into four groups. The first is the service functioning within the scientific organization of labor and management departments. A characteristic example of this form of organization is the sociopsychological laboratory at the Svetlana Production Association in Leningrad, which pioneered social planning in our country. The second type is the separate subunit within the personnel service system. This approach is practiced at the AvtoZil and AZLK associations and many other enterprises. The third type is a group within the economic department as is the case at the AvtoVAZ Association. The fourth is an autonomous sociological service under the director or his deputy for personnel. This principle is applied at the Perm Telephones Plant (staffed by sociologists, psychologists and physiologists), and at the sociological center of the KamAZ.

Each of these forms has its advantages and shortcomings. However, practical experience shows that the most efficient is the creation of a separate sociological (sociopsychological) subunit. "It is only wherever social planning is actually independent, where work is being done on its methods, where its independent service has been organized and where the sociological training of cadres has been established that social planning proves its efficiency" (21).

Social planning improvements also presume the solution of a number of cadre problems. It is a question of defining and refining the table of organization status of plant sociologists and their specialization, training and qualification improvements. Suggestions on the creation of a corresponding center must be formulated by the AUCCTU jointly with the USSR Academy of Sciences and, particularly, the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI. The question of the sociological training of economists engaged in planning and of managers on different levels is exceptionally urgent. In other words, sociological thinking must become an inseparable element in planning and management activities.

Considerable attention to this topic is being paid in the area of international cooperation as well. Thus, a task force on "Social Planning and Forecasting" has been set up within the problems commissions of the academies of sciences of socialist countries, known as "Evolution of the Social Structure in Socialist Society." So far it has helped nine meetings on theoretical and methodical problems. Its experience has made it possible to convert from discussions and information trading to joint comparative studies which, unquestionably, will greatly contribute to enhancing scientific planning standards.

Upgrading social planning efficiency decisively depends on the extent to which its measures will be related to achieving economic and political-educational objectives and the extent to which social reserves and factors are used in this area. This requires a transition to a qualitatively new level in the development of the theoretical-methodological and methodical problems, the use of data of sociological studies and, finally, the organization of the latter. It is precisely sociology which plays a leading role in giving planning scientific support.

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PRODUCTION RHYTHM IMPACT ON LABOR DISCIPLINE

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[Article by B. N. Kolodizh: "How Does Production Rhythm Influence Labor Discipline?" Boris Nikolayevich Kolodizh is a plant sociologist. He is the author of the article "The Prestige of the Enterprise in the Public Opinion of Urban Residents," published in our journal (No 3, 1978)]

[Text] Before undertaking the presentation of the nature of this question I must say that the concept of this article did not appear at the work desk of the sociologist but in the course of the author's direct participation in the efforts to strengthen labor discipline as member of the personnel service of the industrial enterprise. Textbooks describe this method as "included" observation. However, I am prepared to state most responsibly that this is not limited merely to observation. This requires considerable effort, extensive training and specific personality qualities on the part of the experimenter. Unfortunately, so far the possibilities of this method have not been suitably appreciated. Yet such a method enables us to come as closely as possible to the implementation of the main sociological target--to be the "disturber of tranquility," by realistically depicting the "live social reality in its various manifestations and continuing development" (6).

The purpose of this article is to consider the social reserves for strengthening labor discipline through the eyes of the personnel official or, taking a broader view, that of the production worker and to reinterpret traditional concepts in labor sociology.

Let us begin with the familiar. Between the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, sociologists in Leningrad and, subsequently, other industrial centers were able to establish the following pattern: the curve of labor discipline violations has been steadily rising while the rhythm of production output has been dropping. The assumption that the level of production and labor organization is one of the decisive factors in labor discipline thus obtained a clear, statistically confirmed substantiation. It turned out that in the subunits of surveyed enterprises in which a stable production arrhythmia was noted, the share of labor discipline violators was double that at sectors with a normal production rhythm (7). According to another study, whenever idling for reasons independent of the will of the workers doubled losses for which workers could be blamed increased by a factor of 6.3 (8).

At enterprises with expressed production arrhythmia absenteeism was most frequent during the first third of the month, accounting for 10-15 percent of the production program, i.e., during the period of irregular forced idling. As labor intensiveness increased, particularly during the third part of the month, when most of the monthly assignment is fulfilled, absenteeism for non-legitimate reasons was minimal. This was confirmed by a study conducted at the Voronezh ore mining and concentration equipment plant (see Table 1) (9).

Table 1
Production Rhythm and Breakdown of Absenteeism
by 10-Day Periods During the Month, in %

<u>10-Day Period</u>	<u>Output</u>	<u>Absenteeism</u>
I	12.2	14.2
II	24.5	37.0
III	63.3	21.0

Generally speaking, the logic of the behavior of the violators of labor discipline was entirely explainable: under circumstances of partial work and idling absenteeism did not seem shameful, for the economic harm caused by it both to the violator and the production process was not all that obvious. In turn, the lack of a proper organization of labor and uneven availability of work deprived the administration of objective grounds for increasing its strictness toward absenteeists and encouraged an atmosphere of connivance.

This pattern, which was detected by the sociologists, remained unquestionable all the way to the present (10). However, a close study of table of organization data submitted to the personnel department for analytical processing made us question the uniformity of previous summations. The following assumption arose: had the trend we detected not experienced any substantial changes over the past 10-15 years, i.e., during the period when the rhythmical nature of production at many enterprises had not improved and when manpower shortages continued to grow and worsen substantially, which in frequent cases created a good life for labor discipline violators, absenteeists and drunks?

The following interesting picture (see Table 2) emerged, on the basis of breaking down the month into 10-day periods of absenteeism in all subdivisions of basic production facilities in the enterprise we studied (for 1982-1983).¹

Table 2
Production Rhythm and Breakdown of Days of Absenteeism
By 10-Day Periods Within a Month, in %

<u>Year</u>	<u>10-Day Production Output</u>			<u>Production Arrhythmia Coefficient</u>	<u>10-Day Breakdown of Days of Absenteeism in Basic Production Shops</u>		
	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>		<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>
1982	15.3	26.8	57.9	3.8	22.2	40.4	37.4
1983	9.7	30.3	60.0	6.2	16.5	38.5	45.0

Let us take production rhythm first. As Table 2 shows, 15.3 percent of the output was produced during the first 10 days, 26.8 percent in the second and 57.9 percent in the third part of the month in 1982. The production arrhythmia coefficient, computed by correlating the maximal with the minimal values of the 10-day output was 3.8.

In 1983 (for the period under study) production totaled 9.7 percent during the first 10 days, 30.3 percent during the second and 60.0 percent during the third. The production arrhythmia coefficient was 6.2. In other words, the worsening of the production labor rhythm, i.e., the declined level of organization of work in production, was manifested clearly.

Now as to absenteeism. In 1982 the total number of cases of absenteeism in the various basic production shops averaged 22.2 percent for the first 10 days, 40.4 percent for the second and 37.4 percent for the third. Therefore, despite the substantial increase in the work stress during the second 10 days, in the majority of cases it was precisely then that the highest level of absenteeism was recorded.

In 1983 16.5 percent of absenteeism occurred during the first 10 days, 38.5 percent in the second and 45.0 percent in the third. Figuratively speaking, at that point the absenteeist had won a bridgehead during the last 10 days of the month, when the most stressed and decisive time of plan fulfillment was taking place.

How do we explain the fact that currently in an enterprise suffering from high production arrhythmia most cases of absenteeism were not at the beginning of the month, as in the past, but in the middle and, particularly, the last 10 days?

The reasons for this are numerous and not all of them obvious.

According to available data 80 to 90 percent of cases of truancy involved drunkenness. At the enterprise we studied a salary "advance" was given at the middle of the third 10 days; at the beginning of the second bonus and piece-rate wage supplements were issued. A certain percentage of the alcohol abusers and two-thirds of recently hired workers (as a rule, hired less than 2 years previously) spent these days drinking, find themselves in sobering tanks and consequently are absent from work. They are not particularly concerned, believing that available job vacancies in the city are sufficient and that changing jobs among seven or eight or even 10 or more enterprises was of no importance. Such "workers" are perfectly aware of the fact that no one has been particularly demanding in hiring them, disregarding claims of lost labor records or records of being fired from their previous jobs for disciplinary violations. Repeated cases were noted of combinations of absenteeism and drunkenness at enterprises with unstable production for periods of 3-5 days after receiving their salary. According to the study labor productivity during that time declined between 15 and 30 percent (11).

Some of the workers hope (not without reason) to "compensate" for their second 10-day absenteeism during the period of rushing at the end of the

month, for this does not affect their wages. In the final account, their wages turn out to be equal to those of the disciplined and conscientious members of the collective. We have already referred to the results of the study according to which the monthly earnings of the entire group of workers employed at the enterprise exceeded the amount earned by malicious violators by only 4 rubles (12). In frequent cases not even this difference in wages existed. The average earnings of absenteeists and alcohol abusers, a publication mentioned, nevertheless totaled approximately 175 rubles and were no different from the earnings of conscientious workers (13).

Unquestionably, this is a serious reason for the decline of labor discipline. However, another reason exists as well, a deeper and more general factor for the escalation of violations, worthy of particular attention. Production arrhythmia and rushing create a negative emotional background, lead to physical and nervous fatigue and psychological breakdowns and call for relaxation, which some workers try to achieve with the help of alcohol. The Leningrad sociologists found a connection between increased overtime, taking place above all during the last third of the month and the increased morbidity rate among the workers. It was established that in production collectives where overtime exceeds 0.3 percent workers are more frequently ill (14). In this case failure to show up for work with or without legitimate reasons (absenteeism or illness) is a phenomenon of the same order.

Connivance with absenteeists at the beginning of the month, as a type of compensation for the lack of organization of the production process invariably leads to an escalation of violations and to shifting their cases to the second and, subsequently, the third 10 days of the month. Such is the sociopsychological mechanism of a phenomenon which on the surface looks like a paradox in the case of production arrhythmia.

Another rather important conclusion may be drawn. If despite absenteeism the enterprise nevertheless manages to fulfill its production program in the majority of cases, it follows that the degree to which the production process depends on the absenteeists is not so substantial as some managers try to prove by referring to personnel shortages and justifying impunity. Furthermore, in cases of unrhythmical work many members of the collective develop a conscious mood of lowering labor-intensiveness at the beginning and the middle of the month and creating their personal stockpile of parts and semi-finished raw and other materials to be used during overtime and for piece-rate earnings during the third part of the month. All of this lowers the overall level of labor productivity and leads to the development of "concealed" manpower surpluses. In the final account, the norming system, which is based on the actual output, worsens the situation according to which a work which could be performed by a single worker is done by two or three. A "surplus of workers" in a situation of "manpower shortages" is another paradox in production arrhythmia.

Therefore, the situation which was established in the course of the study could be characterized as follows: the unrhythmical work of the enterprise increases and its dependence on labor discipline violators is intensified; shop managers, foremen, brigade leaders and the personnel on the line as a

whole and the conscientious members of the collective are forced to work in an increasingly stressed moral and psychological atmosphere....

The ruinous chain of cause and effect relations based on shortcomings in labor and production organization was pointed out in the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree "On Intensifying Work on Strengthening Socialist Labor Discipline": "Shortcomings in planning, material and technical procurements and production organization lead to idling and rushing and overtime.... They affect the discipline and, in the final account, the growth rates of labor productivity" (4). Economists have assessed that unrhythmical labor activities contribute to a drop in worker labor productivity by an average of 20 percent. Such are the direct material costs alone of this phenomenon (15).

What is the solution considered by the personnel service of the surveyed enterprise to this situation?

Needed above all is ensuring rhythmical work and improving the organization of labor and production. This problem is exceptionally complex for it depends not only on the enterprise itself. However, there neither is nor could there be any other way to strengthen labor discipline.

Production rhythm is justifiably considered one of the main indicators of optimal enterprise work. However, there is a widespread view that with the existing conditions for planning, material and technical procurements and dependency on the supplier, the enterprise alone cannot put an end to production arrhythmia. The scientific assessment of this view proves that in reality only one-third of all work breakdowns are caused by external reasons and supply shortcomings while two-thirds are caused by internal factors and shortcomings within the enterprise itself (16). Practical experience proves that bringing up the enterprise and taking it out of its economic and social stagnation are successful only if the system of changes begins by streamlining the production process and the elimination of emergency work in rushing. Such experience was acquired at the Dry Transformers Plant in Baku, the Stroygidravlika Plant in Odessa and the Ukrelektromash Association (17). A method for encouraging the organization of rhythmical work, such as basing bonuses on the fulfillment of the production plan by 5-day periods proved useful at the Plant imeni S. M. Kirov in Ufa. In the plant's procurement shops a 20 percent bonus was paid for meeting the assignments for the first 5 days of the month, 20 percent for the second, 15 percent for the third and 5 percent for the fourth (18).

Success comes when the management process is considered not a kind of result of "inspiration" but a professional activity based on consciously streamlined procedures. Control of production rhythm is no exception. Like the management process as a whole, it can be scientifically regulated. This is confirmed, in particular, by the comprehensive system suggested by specialists at the Moscow Management Institute imeni Ordzhonikidze for Controlled Management, which is being successfully tested in a number of economic organizations (19).

Positive experience has been acquired in ensuring rhythmical production not only on the scale of the enterprise but the individual shop as well. Here is a specific example. For a number of years, day after day, schedules for the production of urgently needed goods at the pipes manufacturing shop of the Metallurgical Plant imeni V. I. Lenin in Kuybyshev remained unfulfilled. Here rushing and weakened labor discipline had become accepted like an inevitable earthquake. This lasted until the new shop management made radical changes in the structure of intrashop organizational-economic relations. The indicator of the daily outstripping of assigned volumes of work under the conditions of the brigade forms of labor organization and incentive became the main incentive for rhythmical production of the entire flow of items which, incidentally, amounted to more than 1,000 items of different types and sizes. Individual contribution to the common cause began to be determined not only on the basis of the labor participation coefficient, as had been previously the case, but also the level of implementation of the shift assignment. This included the share of the work required in preparing the work for the next shift. Every worker was informed of the amount of his earnings for the previous 24 hours. Auxiliary work and sets for the repair of equipment and the necessary tools began to be prepared in advance. The shop developed a stable work rhythm and produced strictly defined items in a strictly defined quantity. Initiative, enterprise, high responsibility and a feeling of unity replaced idling, rushing, passiveness and irresponsibility (20).

Currently the conversion to brigade forms of labor organization and incentive are becoming the linchpins of successful management of rhythmical production. By itself, however, the brigade order does not resolve the problem. In our enterprise, for example, during the study period it covered 61 percent of the workers, including 46 percent whose wages were based on a single order. Nevertheless, this did not affect the overall level of cadre turnover and labor discipline. The point was that the conversion to brigade methods was not comprehensive. It did not involve a radical review of economic management principles and the entire system of labor, production and management organization. Nevertheless, even under those circumstances, when the question was approached informally and when united labor collectives were created, with an atmosphere of responsibility and collectivistic aspirations, it became possible to reduce cadre turnover by a factor of 3-4 and violations of labor discipline by a factor of 2-3 compared with the average plant level. The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decrees on strengthening labor discipline emphasize the need for active application of progressive forms of labor organization and incentive, brigade cost accounting, wages based on end results and use of the labor participation coefficient (4).

The following important step should be included in the measures taken to improve the wage system: either a conversion to wages paid through savings banks, which is already being done on an experimental basis at hundreds of enterprises throughout the country, or, again experimentally, eliminating salary advances, as stipulated in the USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree "On Additional Measures for Strengthening Labor Discipline" (4). Incidentally, the experience of using the system of 10-day (weekly or half-

monthly) wages, providing that they have been indeed earned, already exists in the country. Experiments conducted as early as the beginning of the 1970s at the Yuzhuralmash imeni Kalinin in Krasnodar, Mosmetrostroy Machine Shop No 1 in Moscow and many others have indicated that the application of the new wage computation method improves the rhythmical nature of output, increases labor productivity and upgrades production quality while, simultaneously, reducing absenteeism by several hundred percent.

The main feature, however, is that in all cases the deliberate violator who causes real and tangible material losses has never been ordered to work overtime. He should not earn the same wages as the conscientious worker. "We must not forget," the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized, "that we live in a socialist society, the development of which should be governed by the basic principles of socialism.... Every one of our citizens has the right only to the type of material goods corresponding to the quantity and quality of his socially useful labor and only to them. Important in this case is the strict consideration and observance of this principle" (3).

Furthermore, particular attention should be paid to the problem of stabilizing the production collective and reducing the excessive cadre turnover which, at the enterprise under study, reached 20.4 percent. This can be achieved as a result of technical improvements in the production process, eliminating the least attractive manual, unskilled and heavy physical labor and improving labor hygiene and the social living conditions of the workers and the members of their families. We must become really aware of the fact that no other way to ensure the enterprises with cadres, when the manpower balance in an area becomes increasingly stressed, exists. Only enterprises which can improve production conditions and the development of the social infrastructure (housing, kindergartens and nurseries, medical services, public catering) could hope to recruit young and educated worker cadres to replace the significant numbers of elderly individuals close to retirement age (21).

The existence of a close interdependence between cadre turnover and labor discipline is a well-known fact. These are two interlinked phenomena, each one of which acts both as a cause and a consequence. The correlation analysis of the connection among a number of sociodemographic characteristics with a tendency toward violations of labor discipline confirms that a predisposition for absenteeism (caused by drunkenness)² is correlated with the length of work at the enterprise under study. The highest coefficient is characteristic of those who have worked at the enterprise for less than 1 year ($C = 3.8$). It is noteworthy that a similar indicator among workers who have worked for more than 1 year is lower by a factor of 7.4 ($C = 0.51$). After 3 years of work at an enterprise the probability of work absenteeism for reasons of drunkenness and unjustified nonappearance to work declines drastically, reaching a minimal value among cadre workers.

Therefore, the prime significance of the problem of stabilizing the production collective in terms of strengthening enterprise labor discipline is unquestionable.

The socioeconomic measures aimed at strengthening labor discipline must be organically related to ideological support and to enhancing the level of ideological and educational activities and improving the social control system. Above all, we must invariably observe the principle of inevitability of penalties and strict consideration of any violation of labor discipline, be it a question of weakness, leaving ahead of time, showing up for work drunk or the practice of absenteeism. In a number of production collectives, for a variety of reasons (unwillingness to present a picture worse than others, to take the "skeletons out of the closet," worsening relations, losing the agreement of workers for work overtime in the future, etc.), officially as many as 50 percent of labor discipline violations remain unreported and officially unrecorded. Figuratively speaking, the "disease" is pushed inwards, which subsequently leads to increased reproduction of violations. Each enterprise subdivision should keep a logbook of labor discipline violations, indicating the main sociodemographic data of the violators (age, education, skill, seniority, etc.), and the types and duration of punishments.

All cases of absenteeism or violations of public order must be considered within a period of 3 days with a mandatory observance of the principle of adequate assessment and individual approach to the violator. Corresponding information must be promptly submitted to the cadre department and subjected to skilled sociological use with the use of computers. In our view, it would be expedient to resolve the problem of singling out in the structure of the cadre service that of a labor discipline and cadre stabilization sector, ascribing to it the functions of organizational-methodical work on strengthening enterprise labor discipline.

Finally, maximal efforts must be made to develop an effective public opinion toward violators of labor discipline and the elaboration of an active stance by every conscientious working person. The sociological studies we conducted at a number of enterprises in Yaroslavl indicated that no more than 20 percent of the people employed in a number of production collectives consider themselves principle-minded and irreconcilable fighters for strengthening labor discipline and that about 70 percent, although condemning the violators, remain passive, actually tolerating this evil. Thus, for example, at the Yaroslavl Order of Lenin and Order of the October Revolution Tires Plant, where the survey was based on an extensive questionnaire with the help of which data were collected on the creation of a comprehensive target program for the social development of the collective during the 11th Five-Year Plan, the following was one of the questions asked: "Could you recall the most recent case of violation of labor discipline or public order by workers in your collective? What was your personal attitude toward the case?" It turned out that no more than 22.9 percent of those asked showed an attitude of intolerance toward violators of labor discipline. Compared with engineering and technical personnel and employees, the workers were more tolerant and more passive. Almost 20 percent of them held a sympathetic attitude of neutrality toward the violators, compared with only 3 percent among the engineering and technical personnel and the employees. Although comrade courts, labor discipline and violations and struggle against drunkenness commissions operated actively at the plant and worker meetings at which violators were discussed were held, the effectiveness of all such measures was obviously low. What was the reason?

In our view, on the basis of special observations, the insufficient effectiveness of social forms of labor discipline management lies precisely in the absence of active condemnation on the part of the majority of the workers in the given production collective. A large number of sociological studies have determined that among all the penalties used the violators fear most of all the informal condemnation of their actions at worker meetings and effective public opinion. The law on labor collectives offers all the necessary guarantees for the effective shaping and utilization of public opinion. Article 9 of the law, which deals with the rights of labor collectives in ensuring labor discipline, specifically stipulates that the labor collectives "ensure the creation of an atmosphere of intolerance of violators of labor discipline and display strict comradely exigency toward workers who perform their labor obligations unconscientiously," as well as "submit suggestions on improving wages and making wages consistent with the individual labor contribution of every worker and the increased dependence of wages on the end results of the collective's work" (5).

Such are, in our view, the most important problems of strengthening labor discipline at the enterprise. Naturally, their solution presumes a comprehensive approach and the joint efforts of managers and the party, trade union and public organizations and the production collectives themselves, as well as the organic combination of social and administrative influences, persuasions and coercions and, finally, the application of the law should this become necessary. "By extensively applying material and moral incentives for dedicated toil," the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree stipulates, "we must also decisively uproot cases of tolerance toward violators of labor and production discipline. To this effect the measures of social influence and the norms of existing legislation must be actively used. Violations of labor discipline must be considered a deviation of the implementation of the Soviet constitutional obligation of working conscientiously" (4).

The arsenal of the means of struggle against violators, as stipulated in the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decrees, is sufficient to ensure the necessary level of socialist labor discipline within each production collective. However, in a number of cases, clearly, specific comprehensive programs must be adopted in accordance with the specific nature of the enterprise. In trying to present the "target tree," the priorities we should name should be the following: (1) upgrading the level of worker satisfaction with the content, conditions and organization of labor and the system of material and moral incentives; (2) improving the system of worker value orientations and promoting conscientiousness and responsibility and collectivistic aspirations and feelings of ownership of the enterprises; (3) creating a proper social control system.

Another circumstance should be taken into consideration as well: efforts to strengthen labor discipline should not be a short-term campaign. "The building of a new labor discipline," V. I. Lenin emphasized, "and the development of new forms of social ties among people and the development of new ways and means of involving the people in labor is a project of many years and decades" (1). The resolutions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the

subsequent decrees of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU on strengthening labor discipline indicate the all-embracing and comprehensive nature of this problem and its prime significance in the implementation of the party's economic and social policy.

Going back to the starting point of my discussion, I would like most clearly to point out that the rhythmical nature of production is the most objective prerequisite in the creation of a healthy moral and psychological climate in collectives, relations of responsible dependence and mutual aid, collective aspirations and conscious labor discipline. Under the conditions of a rhythmically developing production process the necessary labor skills are shaped as well as features in the human character such as conscientiousness and punctuality. Conversely, production instability destroys existing dynamic stereotypes in the minds of the workers and inevitably lead to a decline in labor discipline and to tremendous material and moral costs. It creates major obstacles in the implementation of ideological education work. S. A. Shalayev, AUCCTU chairman, indicated accurately and briefly the correlation between the attitude toward labor and its organization in an interview with LITERATURNAYA GAZETA: "Labor...provides an education only when it is properly organized. A foreman or section chief who has been able to organize the rhythmical work of his subordinates and has prevented idling and rushing accomplishes 100 times more in terms of their education compared with those who make beautiful speeches" (22). This evaluation is the only proper one and the one confirmed by practical experience in production collectives where words do not differ from actions and where the organized work of the enterprise is ensured through the conscious efforts of one and all.

Unfortunately, many more unresolved problems remain. The central press has already pointed out the need for a unified system of planning, recording and studying the corresponding indicator on the level of the enterprise and entire industrial sector. This would enable us not only objectively to assess the condition and dynamics of rhythmical work but also reliably to influence the process. Essentially, it is a question of a system of determining the labor rhythm of the overall worker. It would be hardly possible to find a more accurate and voluminous indicator which would reflect the level of the social organization of labor and production, the balancing of plans and procurement discipline, and the visible forms of absenteeism and imaginary forms of presence on the job or losses and utilization of working time better than the rhythm indicator. It is this indicator which enables us to determine the extent to which the system of the economic organization functions on a synchronized basis and the extent to which the unified national economic complex as a whole is balanced. It was no accident that V. I. Lenin deemed mandatory the creation of all the necessary conditions "for the economic mechanism to work truly like clockwork" (2).

In recent years social indicators such as labor discipline and cadre turnover have been justifiably included among the strictly controlled social indicators. However, as in the past, the indicator of rhythmical work has not been included in the list. Does this not lead to the fact that we are trying to analyze consequences while ignoring reasons?

Rhythmical work is the most important structural component of work quality. It is a mandatory prerequisite for upgrading production efficiency in labor collectives. The management of this process is a vital requirement of today.

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FOOTNOTES

1. We do not describe the specific target of our study not because of "confidentiality" but because the situation we describe is quite typical of many enterprises throughout the country. Let us merely point out that our enterprise is among those with a large industrial personnel, however displaying average technical-economic and social development indicators for its sector and region.

2. The term "absenteeism" is not used in domestic sociology. Nevertheless, in our view, it aptly applies to that segment of violations of labor discipline which is related to absenteeism caused by drunkenness. The etymology of this term, in the sense we use it, is double: it comes from the Latin "absentis"--absent--and the French "absinthe"--which is an alcoholic beverage.

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DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM IN ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

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[Article by V. M. Yakushev: "Democratic Centralism in National Economic Management." Vladimir Makarovich Yakushev is a candidate of philosophical sciences and senior instructor at the USSR Council of Ministers Academy of the National Economy. He is a specialist in labor sociology and socialist competition. This author continues to develop problems which he discussed in articles published in our journal such as "'Pulsar': Attempt at a Social Experiment" (No 3, 1977); "On Means of Combining the Economic Mechanism With the Competition" (No 1, 1978); "V. I. Lenin and the Development of the Socialist Competition Idea" (No 2, 1980); and "Distribution According to Labor: Interconnection Between Economic Mechanism and Competition" (No 3, 1982)]

[Text] With this article the editors continue the discussion of social problems of reorganization of the economic mechanism and upgrading public production efficiency. In its previous publications under this section (No 3, 1983; No 1, 1984) a number of critical remarks were expressed on V. M. Yakushev's address. In this article the author refines his position in terms of the role of commodity-monetary relations in national economic management. The editors consider the viewpoint expressed by V. M. Yakushev arguable and intend to publish in forthcoming issues articles which will offer alternative approaches to the solution of the problems discussed in this article.

Improving the system of national economic management on the basis of the principles of democratic centralism is the most important part of the major restructuring of the entire economic mechanism which, as K. U. Chernenko noted at the February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, has merely begun. While retaining continuity in the management of the country and systematically implementing the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent Central Committee plenums, the party is directing the efforts of scientists and economic managers toward the development of new ways and methods of economic management. Intensive search is under way and large-scale experiments are being conducted. A most important role is being assigned to the social sciences in this complex project. As the folk wisdom has it, measure 7 times but cut only once. Guided by Marxist-Leninist methodology, we must determine the reasons which hinder the work of the economic

mechanism. We must study the various alternatives and variants for its restructuring and determine the nature and trend of new developments and, on this basis, formulate reliable practical recommendations.

We know that V. I. Lenin considered democratic centralism in economics as unity of planning and competition. Planning ensures "the absolute value and unity," whereas competition offers "the possibility of total and unhindered development not only of local characteristics but also local undertaking and initiative and a variety of ways, means and methods for achieving the common objective" (5, p 152).

V. I. Lenin linked the development of competition with the reduced role of commodity output (5, p 150). Today, as R. I. Kosolapov accurately notes, some scientists are "abstractly and endlessly calling for the all-round development of commodity-monetary relations, ignoring the limitations imposed upon them by the noncommodity nature of the manpower, the public ownership of productive capital and the planned nature of their economy; they decline to refine the areas and limits in the application of such relations in the new social system" (13). Obviously, it is only when the real changes which have taken place in commodity-monetary relations as a result of the socialization of production labor tools and means are taken into consideration that we shall be able to make full use of the live and creative nature of the socialist competition and achieve K. U. Chernenko's stipulation expressed in his speech to the voters of the Kuybyshev Electoral District in Moscow: "To provide scope for the all-round application of cost-accounting principles. Anything which hinders this should be eliminated."

One of the negative phenomena in our economy is the desire of individual workers to be given reduced plans and to conceal reserves. The phenomenon is not new. The December 1935 VKP(b) Central Committee Plenum noted that some economic managers are "in the grip of reducing the plan capacities of our enterprises" (10). Obviously, this negative trend appeared starting with the end of the 1950s. Generally speaking, the reasons for it are clear: since the work of the collective and the incentives are based on the implementation of plans and norms, the easier the plan the simpler it becomes to become a frontrunner. Increased responsibility merely intensifies the desire to have an easier plan. It proved impossible to combine stressed planning "from above" with the interest "from below." How then, however, can such an interest be promoted? The idea arose of making fuller use of the law of value to this effect. At that time, however, in the second half of the 1950s, economic theory and economic practice were governed by concepts which denied the effect of this law in the governmental economic sector. The view became controversial.

Its supporters believed that in socialist society commodity and money had qualitatively changed their nature and were such only in terms of their form, for which reason the laws of commodity production could not be applied to socialism. However, the viewpoint that the law of value operates also under the conditions of a planned socialist economy was asserted in the 1960s. It was on this theoretical base that most suggestions aimed at resolving the problem of intensive planning began to be founded.

What had changed? Previously it was considered that production costs and prices were a means of determining social production outlays. It was believed that the lower the price and the lower the labor outlays, the more effective the work of the enterprise was. Therefore, the interest lay in lowering prices. Now prices were given a stimulating function. The wholesale price was set at which the enterprise was "selling" its output to other enterprises, on a centralized basis. The price was such as to cover costs and provide a certain amount of profit. The more goods were produced and marketed the higher profits became and, consequently, the better the enterprise worked. This, it was believed, would develop an interest in adopting a stressed plan.

It is true that questions arose: could the two regulators--planning and the law of value--be successfully coordinated? Wouldn't the situation become such that the plan would be "pulling" in one direction and profits in another? The doubts were dispersed by the theory of optimal planning: "The law of value and the law of planned development," its supporters proclaimed, "not only are not mutually exclusive but can be most fully implemented only jointly" (15).

Initial experience with the new system indicated that coordinating the activities of these two regulators was an extremely difficult task (16). A situation developed everywhere in which the State Plan prescribed one thing while cost-accounting interests called for something else. It soon became clear that the new procedure "created the possibility of developing an inefficient material production structure, i.e., a structure which was inconsistent with building socialism and communism" (17). It was being said at one point that eventually it would become possible to develop a price-setting system which would take into consideration the requirements of the law of value and would ensure the synchronized work of the two regulators. However, this was not achieved: since higher prices ensured higher profits for the enterprise, disparity between price and production value increased.

Due to the fact that the "cost" levers were not working, the planning organs tried to restrain the departmental aspirations of enterprises (frequently in violation of their cost accounting rights) through administrative measures. Since the enterprises avoided, as in the past, the adoption of stressed plans, the practice of planning "on the basis of achievements" was resumed.

The economic imbalance continued to grow. While some items were in short supply there was a surplus of others. According to the specialists the reason for this was the following: "Suppliers, taking into consideration the fact that their cost-accounting interests are directly related to the indicator of the overall volume of sales, are concerned above all with reaching this indicator" (18). The economists who suggested the new principles of economic management thought otherwise. In their view, the reason for the deficit was the "lack of coordination and errors made by the personnel of planning organs" (19).

There is another point of view according to which the increased scale of the national economy makes planning increasingly difficult. Naturally, a number

of problems arise in this area. However, they are further worsened by the artificial promotion of commodity relations. This circumstance leads to breakdowns in centralized management not only in terms of the entire national economy but even individual enterprises. Here is a typical example.

Cost-accounting specialized organizations were created in the coal industry within the framework of production associations. Their purpose was to provide services to the basic production activity. Quite rapidly the interests of the main and auxiliary production lines split. The latter began to perform essentially profitable operations. "As a result, the management of mines (cuts)," specialists in sectorial management write, "becomes dependent on the specialized organizations.... The elimination of negative aspects related to the work of specialized organizations is one of the most important, responsible and labor-intensive tasks facing the association's management" (20).

Realizing the difficulties encountered by the enterprises, the Gosplan, the Ministry of Finance and the USSR Central Statistical Administration drafted a number of recommendations which limited the realm of application of cost-accounting methods. Some collectives began to refuse decentralized material incentive funds and orient their cost-accounting subunits toward physical and technological production parameters. The trend continued to intensify. As A. M. Birman pointed out, a "sharp gap developed between the theoretical concepts of the science of economics and dominating economic practice" (21).

The concept which dominates economic practice considers social state enterprises as commodity producers and practical experience tried to be guided by this concept. Why is it that the recommendations of science notwithstanding it began to abandon it? The efforts to understand this require a deeper understanding of Lenin's concept to the effect that socialism means the elimination of commodity production (6).

Let us turn to a work which is essential to any conscious worker, as V. I. Lenin said, "Anti-Duhring." F. Engels asks directly, "What is a commodity?" He answers that "a commodity is a product produced by a society by more or less individual private producers, i.e., it is above all a private product." He also answers the question of what is value. "...When I say that any given commodity has a certain value, what I mean by this is the following: (1) that it is a socially useful product; (2) that it is produced by a private individual and for a private account...." (2, pp 318-319).

In analyzing the plan for economic communes suggested by Duhring, in which individual economic and trade communes would trade with the help of money based on the law of value, Engels proved that the implementation of this project was impossible. The very fact of socialization qualitatively changes the nature of money. "...In the trade between the commune and its members such money is not really money. It does not function as money...and even less so does it perform its monetary function in the exchange among individual economic communes" (2, p 314). "They," Engels goes on to say, "serve only as receipts or, in Marx's words, they merely note 'the individual share of participation of the producer in the common labor and the share of his

individual claims on the share of the common product assigned for consumption'" (ibid.). It represents "concealed labor marks" (ibid.). However, if we truly organize within the commune a commodity exchange, the commodities would inevitably change their nature. They would convert into real money and will break down the economic commune despite all "laws and administrative norms" (2, p 316).

Does Marxist methodology allow us to consider socialist state enterprises as commodity producers and money a means through which distribution according to labor takes place rather than worker receipts? No, in our view. We consider substantiated the conclusion of authors according to whom the product of the socialist state enterprise "is essentially not a commodity, for this is not the main feature which characterizes a commodity--going beyond the limits of a given form of ownership, the alienation of the product" (22, p 234).

Let us now consider facts which prove the accuracy of the predictions of the founders of scientific communism on the changed nature of money in socialist society.

The balance between population demand and the offer of commodities and services is one of the most important national economic ratios. Let us clarify the economic nature of this balance. Under the conditions of direct social production, as K. Marx proved, "the entire product of the labor of the association of free people is the social product. Some of this product is reused as a productive tool. It remains social. However, another share of this product is consumed as a means of existence by the members of the association, for which reason it must be distributed among them" (1, pp 88-89). In our view, the balance between population monetary income and expenditures is identical to the consistency between the part of the public product used "as a means of survival by the members of the association" and the number of worker receipts issued according to labor and entitling them to this product. This similarity is confirmed by the nature of state retail prices. According to scientific concepts and recommendations, we believe socialist production to be of a commodity nature, so prices must be consistent with value. As we know, however, they substantially deviate from it. The state does this quite deliberately in order, on the one hand, to facilitate for the people access to objects of prime necessity and to create conditions for the all-round development of the individual and, on the other, to avoid the scarcity of labor products which enjoy greater demand without being objects of prime necessity.

If we consider socialist production as a variety of commodity production, the disparity between retail prices and value appears a manifestation of subjectivism. Based on the similarity we pointed out, the practice of price setting in the matter of setting retail prices expresses a certain pattern. In accordance with the basic economic law of socialism, the purpose of socialist production is the creation not of an exchange but a consumer value. Clearly, retail prices no longer express the amount of value but the amount of consumer value (let us recall that "as consumer value the product changes the requirement for it" (3, p 331), for which reason the "money" with which the population purchases labor products is no longer a measure of value but a measure of consumer value and is, in its nature, merely a worker receipt. In

other words, the balance of population monetary income and expenditures is a deliberately established consistency between consumer values to be distributed among the population and worker receipts which represent their amount, i.e., a seeming balance ("money"--"commodity") does not appear as such in the least.

Let us consider the "money" which serves the "commodity" exchange among state enterprises. In this connection, K. Marx wrote that "...this would not represent an exchange of values but an exchange of activities based on collective needs.... Naturally, an intermediary activity must take place" (3, p 115). In order to achieve such an intermediary activity, F. Engels believed, "so-called bookkeeping would be adequate. It would serve far more simply the system of exchanging the products of a certain quantity of labor with products of that same quantity of labor unless based on the only measure of labor--the amount of time in working hours as units of working time--in which case it would convert the number of hours into money ahead of time" (2, p 314).

Let us cite facts proving that this prediction as well was essentially confirmed in the real practice of socialist economic management. At the first glance exchange is achieved through money rather than direct consideration of labor outlays. Let us remember, however, that "money is working time as a universal object or a materialized universal working time, a working time as a universal commodity" (3, p 112). Consequently, the amount of working time can be recorded with the help of money. The amount of labor expressed in a single monetary unit is determined through the price which develops spontaneously in a commodity economy, through the market, whereas in a socialist economy it is determined by the planning bodies on the basis of their consideration of the quantity of labor invested by the enterprises in the production of the commodities. We see, therefore, the existence of a qualitative difference in the means of determining working time outlays in commodity and socialist production: it is indirect in the former and direct in the latter.

The fact that the direct accounting of labor takes place in terms of rubles rather than hours should not mislead us: the purpose of these rubles is to reflect working time outlays. Actually, the rubles act here in the quality of conventional accounting units while the price is the norm of social labor outlays set by the planning authorities.

Unfortunately, in economic practice value indicators are the base in assessing production efficiency. They essentially express production costs (including normative net output and profit) and under the conditions of socialized labor, their use as effectiveness indicators develops the interest of the enterprises in the opposite--increasing production outlays.

The metallurgical workers at the Dneprospetsstal' Plant developed an alloy of superior quality to ordinary steel and by far less expensive than other brands. One would expect that such an item should be produced in as great a quantity as possible! Alas, the enterprise is trying to abandon this innovation, for in order to earn the same amount of money by producing the new brand stainless steel it should smelt more metal and have higher labor outlays. The smelting of the more expensive metal is simpler. The more expensive it is, the more profitable it is for the enterprise. "Planning in terms

of rubles," concludes the noted aerospace designer O. Antonov, "means planning the waste of the people's good" (23).

Major changes are taking place in the views on the role of the categories of a commodity economy in a planned economy under the influence of the real facts. An understanding is developing also of the fact that in economics "outlays have reached the status of results" (24). Characteristically, the supporters of the theory of optimal planning are also reaching the conclusion that "the concept of a socialist planned commodity production and the planned utilization of the law of value and other laws governing commodity-monetary relations under socialism...are theoretical contradictions and fail to explain either the current or any possible other practice of socialist economic management.... Unfortunately, this ruling concept is applied in socialist economic practice in its essential features" (25).

In our view, three basic opinions as to possible directions aimed at improving the economic mechanism exist.

First: making price setting consistent with the law of value. This is the view held by the supporters of the "planned commodity production" concept.

It was believed in the 1960s that if the disparity between prices and the law of value could be eliminated, planning and cost accounting would be coordinated. Twenty years later, many people prefer to believe that the key to success lies in the "timely and comprehensive perfecting of prices, making them consistent with national economic, socially necessary labor outlays" (26). The question is why has this key not worked over such a long period of time?

We face here an eclectic effort to combine different principles: planned prices with commodity production (4).

The second opinion essentially consists of converting to a market regulation of the socialist economy while limiting the role of planning to reflecting the market situation and adapting the economy to market conditions. The supporters of this viewpoint formulate the question of whether or not commodity production exists under socialism differently: should it or should it not exist? Realizing that under the conditions of a single national ownership there is no real commodity exchange, they suggest that enterprises become economically autonomous, thus converting state ownership into the property of individual collectives. Should this be done, they claim, once and for all commodity output will not only become recognized but will be organized as well and the law of value could manifest its regulating influence on the economy through competition.

This view has been repeatedly criticized. However, with increasing disappointment in the concept of planned commodity production, the number of its supporters is growing. It is true that whereas in the past they had held a negative view in terms of the concept of a planned commodity production, believing it eclectic, and considering that "in this case the value terminology is merely concealing the previous bareness of the administration

approach" (29), today, under the pretext of improving the concept of this project, they surreptitiously lead to the concept of market regulation--this time, however, under the flag of "regulated planning" or "total, informal cost accounting."

It is important to note in this connection the disparity existing in the concepts of cost accounting. We find in publications a frequent pitting of "total cost accounting" against cost accounting allegedly considered "formal." Let us make this concept clear. What is known as "formal" cost accounting is a comparison between labor results and outlays. Since society will always need such a comparison, in this sense cost accounting is necessary. As to "total cost accounting," it is based on exchange value and is essentially similar to the commercial accounts of capitalist enterprises. Assertions to the effect that "no changes in the nature of public ownership and no breakdown of such ownership into ownership by individual collectives takes place in cost accounting self-financing" (3) sound unconvincing. Let us not forget Marx's cautioning that "the wish that the exchange value does not develop into capital or for labor which produces the exchange value not develop into hired labor is as well-intentioned as it is stupid" (3, p 196).

The withering away of commodity-monetary relations is a legitimate process which occurs in both the socialist and capitalist society, where in many areas "the market is no longer serviceable" (31, p 412) and where "the development of capitalism has reached a point that although commodity output 'reigns' as before and is considered the base of the entire economy, in fact it has already been undermined..." (7). Thinking people in bourgeois society itself realize that "it is not the socialists who are the enemies of the market but advanced technology and the specialization of manpower and the production process it dictates.... By virtue of these circumstances the market mechanism is beginning to break down precisely when the need for exceptionally high reliability arises and when planning becomes essentially necessary" (31, p 71).

Historically the situation has developed in such a way that the socialist revolution won initially in a country in which the prerequisites for direct socialist change had not as yet become totally ready. It was necessary "initially to build strong bridges leading to a petty farming country through state capitalism to socialism..." (8). Commodity-monetary relations and the NEP served this purpose.

Asked "could freedom of trade and freedom of capitalism for the small farmers be restored to a certain extent without thus undermining the very roots of the political power of the proletariat?" V. I. Lenin answered "It is possible but it is a question of degree" (9). The degree was for the overwhelming mass of productive capital in industry and transportation to remain in the hands of the proletarian state and for the effect of the law of value be extended not to the entire economy but only to part of it. Consequently, it was a separation rather than unification of two regulating agents: part of the economy was controlled through planning whereas another part, less important to the destinies of the state, was controlled by the law of value. Both regulators operated jointly but their realms of action were distinct, for which reason alone they did not hinder but helped each other.

It would be possible even today to "instruct" the law of value to regulate the realms of services, public catering, motor vehicle servicing, etc., in which case some such enterprises would be indeed converted to full cost accounting and self-financing. At the same time, a network of cooperative artisan production facilities, repair workshops, coffee shops, breakfast rooms and others could be established. Such a market would be restricted and regulated with the help of the share of enterprises within this area which would continue to be managed by the state.

Management methods based on the law of value presume a certain economic autonomy of enterprises, for which reason they are closer to the nature of cooperative than state ownership. Practical experience has indicated that their excessive use in relations among government enterprises leads to departmentalism and the economic separation of enterprises. The more complex the production process, the higher its technical standard and the more developed its specialization become, the less applicable become management methods based on the law of value. Therefore, it would be possible to single out within the economy two groups of enterprises. The first would be related above all to population services and subordinated to the law of value; the second, which would include the overwhelming majority of enterprises whose output does not go to individual consumption, would be managed on the basis of the law of planned and proportional development.

Relations between enterprises belonging to the first group and the system of distribution according to labor could be based on the principles suggested in O. I. Novikov's article (27). Here money would act as an economic intermediary, for, as R. I. Kosolapov points out, "The inherent properties of money are preserved in a specific action of purchase and sale between different owners, whereas in another, they lose them, turning into receipts" (22, p 254).

In the case of the second group enterprises, where relations rest on a noncommodity basis, not money but worker receipts would be distributed according to labor or, rather, those same monetary signs would act as worker receipts. In order to ensure the high interest in end labor results, such receipts would be distributed on the basis of the successes achieved by individual workers and collectives in competing against each other. This is the essence of the third approach to the problem of perfecting the economic mechanism on the basis of the principles of democratic centralism. The meaning of this incentive is as follows: society pays a person less (or more) not because he worked poorly (well) but because his labor rival works better (worse). Consequently, those who would like to earn more should outstrip their rivals. Such incentive is easily achievable within the limits of the planned wage fund. Suffice it, on the basis of existing possibilities, to establish in advance the size of bonuses awarded for first, second, third or subsequent ratings in the competition. In an effort to gain a higher rating and, consequently, obtain a higher wage, workers and collectives will work with maximal returns. Some experience in such an organization of the competition is already available. Reality has confirmed its unquestionable efficiency. If distribution according to labor based on competition is combined with a system of moral incentives for the participants in the production

process, as M. I. Voyeykov suggests in his article, we would indeed achieve a unified nonconflicting, comprehensive labor incentive system which would take into consideration all aspects of labor collective functioning (28).

In order to organize distribution according to labor based on competition no essential changes would be necessary in the economic mechanism, for prerequisites to this effect have already been established within it.

Let us point out the fact that in a socialist society only part of the produced commodity is distributed according to labor. Since in a planned economy this part is known in advance, the state puts in circulation a certain number of worker receipts (rubles), equivalent to the consumer values of the distributed part of the social product. Although all of this is covered by commodity-monetary relation terminology, essentially no such system exists. Not money but worker receipts are distributed.

Currently this distribution takes place on the basis of two mutually exclusive principles. On the one hand, the national economic plan sets a balance between the sum total of the prices of objects and services to be distributed among the population and the sum total of money to be paid out. Essentially, this is a balance between labor receipts and consumer values. In order not to disturb it, the planning authorities establish in advance the wage funds of enterprises and organizations. On the other hand, however, the practice of economic management continues to be guided by recommendations based on the commodity concept and ignores the essential difference between money circulating among the population and the intermediary exchange among enterprises.

A contradiction develops. The planning organs, concerned with the balance, try to keep the wage fund within the stipulated limits. However, it is accountability units which are transferred to material incentive funds as intermediaries in the exchange among state enterprises. In other words, the rubles with which labor outlays are accounted are converted into worker rubles with the help of which distribution according to labor takes place. The balance is disturbed. Money (labor receipts) appears among the population unsupported by commodities (consumer values). The principle of distribution based on competition facilitates the preservation of the balance between population demand and offer, for it erects a "barrier" between accountability and working rubles.

Let us explain why we consider this method of distribution as a way to resolve the problem of stressed planning and development of initiative "from below." The assessment of the enterprises' work is shifted from the factor of plan fulfillment to that of victory in the competition. The stressed nature of the plan becomes the personal matter of the collective. However, if the plan is not stressed the collective will appear to fall behind compared with other collectives and its wages would decrease. Therefore, it would be interested in including all of its possibilities into the plan, otherwise the planning organs would be unable to supply it with the necessary resources for its work and it would be doomed to fall behind in the labor rivalry. A collective which assumes a more intensive program will have all the chances of winning the competition, naturally, provided that it has fulfilled its program successfully. There would be no need to overfulfill the

plan. Should the collective be willing and able to do something over and above the plan, it would have to turn to the planning authorities. Naturally, this will be taken into consideration in summing up the competition results.

Since at this point enterprise activities will be directed by a single regulator--planning--the interests of the collective and society will organically combine. This will make it possible to give the labor collectives total autonomy without any risk of misusing it to the detriment of the common project. In turn, the enterprises would become interested in intensified control over their work, for this would ensure greater objectivity in summing up competition results. Actually control would change its function qualitatively and become a determination of who has accomplished more and better. As a result of the general interest in labor results and in improving forms of control and planning, the economic mechanism will become a self-regulating system in which competition will play the role of a spring which brings into action all specific laws of socialism.

Distribution according to labor based on competition would have a number of positive social consequences. The moral atmosphere would improve and padding and pilfering would disappear. It would become possible to "do away" with a certain paragraph in the regulations and to reach an agreement with the people controlling its implementation. Unlike the regulation paragraph, however, the real rival could defend his own interests and would not tolerate any lagging merely because someone else is engaged in padding or playing a dishonest game. The system of economic relations would become stricter and significantly more exigent toward the workers. It is only a knowledgeable worker, highly competent and active, who would be able to preserve his leadership. This would make students take their training seriously and would enhance the quality of training in VUZs, technicums and vocational-technical schools. The people would realize that under the conditions of an uncompromising competition neither nepotism nor relations of friendship would help.

The organization of distribution based on competition results does not involve any essential changes in the economic mechanism. All we need is to eliminate elements alien to its noncommodity nature and, as we gradually increase bonuses based on competition results and organize the control system, make dominant the new distribution system. Naturally, a great deal remains unclear and undeveloped. However, as V. I. Lenin believed, "if we consider the organization of the competition our governmental task...the results would inevitably show up and indicate to us further construction methods" (5, p 153). The organization of distribution according to labor on the basis of competition will strengthen public ownership and the development of the principles of democratic centralism in national economic management.

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TRENDS IN IMPROVING EDUCATION EFFICIENCY

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[Article by F. R. Filippov and V. A. Malova: "Some Trends in Upgrading the Efficiency of Education." The authors are associates of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. Fridrikh Rafailovich Filippov is a doctor of philosophical sciences, professor, head of the Department of Social Structure of Soviet Society, chairman of the Sociological Education Section of the SSA [Soviet Sociological Association] and author of the monographs "Universal Secondary Education in the USSR (Sociological Problems)" (1976), "Sociology of Education" (1980) and others. He is the author of a number of articles and reviews published in our journal. Valentina Alekseyevna Malova is candidate of pedagogical sciences, senior scientific association and scientific secretary of the sociological education section of the SSA. She is the author of reviews and information notes published in this journal]

[Text] Improving public education and youth vocational training is a structural component of perfecting developed socialist society. The conversion to intensive economic development, the implementation of large-scale comprehensive socioeconomic programs, the further broadening and strengthening of socialist democracy, the practical building of a classless social structure in its main and basic outlines, and molding the new man urgently require profound changes in the educational system. In defining the development of our society during the current decade, the 26th CPSU Congress set the task of "upgrading the work efficiency of all levels and forms of cadre education and training" (1).

The essence of the problem is that the educational system--despite all of its unquestionable accomplishments--is lagging behind the steadily changing demands of reality. The inadequate work trend in secondary school education and the fact that a significant number of young people remain outside the vocational training system are coming increasingly into conflict with contemporary requirements relative to the quality of student training. The CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions in the Reform of the General Education and Vocational School"(2), formulated and submitted for nationwide discussion, inspired the reinterpretation of many problems of sociological education. The present article is an attempt at such interpretation, based on social statistics and results of sociological studies.

Our press frequently publishes materials on social statistics which confirm the gradual rapprochement among classes, social groups and population strata in the USSR in terms of educational levels. However, the imperfect nature of indicators used in this respect prevents us from obtaining a sufficiently accurate picture. Thus, guided essentially by considerations of comparability of published data with previous materials, the statisticians persistently include within the same item individuals having partial and full secondary education. In the past, when the elimination of mass illiteracy was the most topical task, the public education indicator for individuals 10 years of age and older was of essential significance. Today there are virtually no illiterate people in the country and this criterion has become totally meaningless, for no educational stage, with the exception of primary education (a 3-year term) could be completed by the age of 10. Nevertheless, it has been kept in TsSU [Central Statistical Administration] publications. Meanwhile, the indicator of employed people with vocational technical training is totally absent, although it is of most important significance in the characterization of the working class.

Such gaps in social statistics are partially filled by sociological studies which, furthermore, provide a specific picture of many aspects of the dynamics of social functions and the efficiency of education, considered as the measure of consistency among the levels, quality and scale of the current and future needs of the developed socialist society and the task of molding, developing and realizing the socially valuable capabilities of the individual. One can also refer to the results of a number of studies characterizing the specific situation which prevails in the realm of education and the trends of its changes in our country (3).

In 1973-1974 and 1978-1979 the Department of Social Structure of the Soviet Society of the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI [Institute of Sociological Research] together with the Central Scientific Research Sociology of Education Section of the Soviet Sociological Association conducted a number of studies which included mass surveys of secondary and higher school students in various parts of the country.¹ Along with unquestionably dominant positive trends some alarming phenomena were noted, including a certain gap between youth vocational training and social and vocational guidance.

A new study is currently under way,² the purpose of which is to determine the degree of social effectiveness of the various types of secondary education. Some of its preliminary results as well will be used in the study of this problem.

It was established a long time ago that the educational system has a relative internal stability which is retained even during most critical times of social change. However, it cannot remain absolutely invariable and equally suitable to any type of social situation. The reform initiated in the country proceeds, on the one hand, from the need for profound changes in the structure of general and vocational education, its content and resolving the problem of educating young people and improving the management of the educational system; on the other, it contemplates the preservation of everything valuable acquired as a result of practical experience in schools, vocational

technical schools and pedagogical science. It is precisely this line which is fully consistent with the Leninist principles of resolving education problems and which can guarantee the greatest success.

An essentially new socioeducational situation developed in the USSR at the start of the 1980s, compared to the one which existed until the beginning of the 1970s. This qualitative change was recorded in the 1979 all-union population census and confirmed by current statistical data. In 1983 virtually the entire employed population in the country (more than 89 percent of the urban and 78 percent of the rural) had acquired at least a partial secondary education. That year there were 467 people with full secondary or higher education per 1,000 people aged 10 or older, and the average length of training of the employed population under 30 was 10.1 years (5). These accomplishments were the result of the transition to universal mandatory full secondary education, which was completed in the mid-1970s.

At the same time, no less than four essential contradictions were clearly detected and empirically codified through sociological research: first, between the fast growth of quantitative indicators of population's educational level and the lack (and sometimes even decline) of quality indicators, particularly those related to heterogeneous social conditions in the activities of schools and other educational institutions (such as differences in the quality of training between urban and rural school students, among graduates in different parts of the country, etc.); second, between the mass general education training of young people and the absence of an equally mass vocational training; third, between the increased level of education and vocational preparedness of young people and the preservation of highly labor-intensive production facilities involving routine types of labor; fourth, between the needs of society and the plans and social and vocational guidance of secondary school alumni.

Such contradictions could be resolved only by improving the system of general educational and vocational training of the youth, the organic combination of training and upbringing of the growing generations involving their participation in productive labor, the rational utilization of a steadily growing intellectual potential of Soviet society, the shaping in secondary school graduates of adequate objective production requirements and the development of the social relations of mature socialism in individual plans and orientations. That precisely is the purpose of the reform of general education and vocational schools.

Let us consider some quantitative indicators which characterize the current condition of the educational system. In the 1982-83 school year there were some 106 million students undergoing all types of training in the USSR, or nearly 40 percent of the country's population (6, pp 5, 454). Out of 40 million children and adolescents attending daytime general education schools 33.3 million (83 percent) attended secondary schools; 5.6 million (14 percent) attended incomplete secondary schools and only 0.6 million (3 percent) were in grammar school, generally in rural areas. The number of students averaged 573 per full secondary school, 142 per incomplete secondary school and fewer than 20 per grammar school (computation based on (6, pp 454-455)). Understandably, it is easier to achieve the specialization of teachers, apply the

laboratory system and resolve many other organizational-pedagogical and social problems and, naturally, achieve a better quality of student training in a large school. However, from the viewpoint of the population's interests, the rural population in particular, it is very important to retain the small schools, including grammar schools (some of which offer a minimum of courses): as a rule, their location is consistent with the historically developed distribution of population among villages and small towns, thus making the school accessible to all children albeit at the cost of additional financial and material outlays. The hasty and unplanned closing down of such schools has invariably led to increasing the migration of the rural population and has aggravated the manpower problem. Conversely, the lengthened period of training in primary schools from 3 to 4 years, stipulated by the reform, will substantially improve attendance in such schools and will allow the more efficient use of the funds spent for their upkeep and will improve conditions for servicing the population with schools. Naturally, certain difficulties arise in connection with the fact that the children will start school at the age of 6. However, with a sensible organization of the training process and the expansion of the network of schools and extended school-day groups, these difficulties can be substantially reduced.

Particularly great importance ascribes today to the more efficient "coupling" of general with vocational education. The reform calls for "conversion to universal vocational education of the youth" (2). This problem will be resolved on two levels: after the group of young people with incomplete secondary education have reached a specific age and after graduation of full secondary school students who did not attend vocational schools. As a result of increasing by 1 year the duration of primary school attendance, the incomplete secondary schools will have not eight but nine grades.

Data for 1982 show that of the total number of eighth-grade graduates of regular schools, 28 percent enrolled in secondary vocational schools; 10 percent enrolled in secondary specialized educational institutions (technicums and schools); 0.5 percent found employment and continued to study at night (shift) schools; all others--61.5 percent--continued their studies in regular secondary schools. Therefore, nearly two-thirds of the adolescents remained outside the vocational training system. The same computations indicate that after graduating from the 10th grade, less than 15 percent of all graduates enrolled in VUZs; 14 percent entered secondary specialized schools; 37 percent entered technical schools and 34 percent, or nearly 1 million boys and girls with completed full secondary education, went to work, lacking, as a rule, vocational training (only some of them had acquired basic vocational knowledge and skills in school workshops, interscholastic training-production combines and agricultural student brigades). Therefore, more than one-third of secondary school graduates as well had no vocational training whatsoever.

However, there is more to it than that. Studies have indicated that a number of school graduates enter training institutions without having made a conscious choice of a future profession. The choice of education and profession, therefore, turn out to be relatively independent processes. This substantially reduces the social efficiency of vocational training: a significant percentage of PTUs [vocational training schools], technicums and

VUZs change professions almost immediately after graduation. Thus, a survey we made of Moscow technicum graduates indicated that only 43 percent (38 percent of them employed for 3 or more years) had been employed in their field of specialization acquired at school; at the time of the survey (1983), the respective figures were 32 and 26 percent.

A similar situation exists among graduates of vocational technical schools; nearly one-third of them change jobs the very first years after graduation. As to higher schools, as the Soviet section of the international survey of university students confirms, about 40 percent of graduating students in technical VUZs do not intend to engage in direct production activities in their field of training acquired at the VUZ after their graduation.

This situation is fraught with a double negative situation: on the one hand, the planned nature of the distribution of young people with vocational school training among the various economic branches and skills is severely disturbed; on the other, the likelihood that many complex jobs will be performed by undertrained and incompetent workers increases. Therefore, it is a question of the need to achieve organic unity in the plans of general education school graduates and vocational education and profession guidance. That is why, in addition to improving the vocational guidance system and energizing the activities of interdepartmental councils, the reform stipulates another essentially important measure by assigning the coordination of such work on a national scale to the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems.

The substantial lack of success in such work among school students is explained not only by blunders of teachers poorly acquainted with the contemporary production system but the alienation of young people from direct participation in production toil. It is no accident that the majority of young people surveyed in the course of a number of sociological studies had, as it became clear, a very vague idea of the profession they had chosen. No more than 2-4 percent had made their choice under the influence of their school, teachers or vocational guidance centers. The most essential factor in the choice of profession was the opinion of parents and coevals. It is a well-known fact, however, that the inertia in public thinking has a strong influence on the youth and the extent to which such views occasionally conflict with the objective requirements of society and even with the inclinations of the young people themselves. In this respect as well the reform earmarks essentially important steps related to involving high school and vocational school students in direct production work and the reorganization of existing (and the creation of new) training sectors, brigades and other labor associations of student youth in enterprise structural subunits with all entailing organizational and economic consequences.

One of the main trends in the forthcoming reform is to strengthen the internal unity within the educational and vocational training system. The qualitatively new level of labor training and high-school education and their involvement in socially necessary productive toil are combined with stricter requirements toward the general education training of the students in vocational technical schools. The following stipulation is also included: "Strict continuity between training and education and a uniform standard of

general education training, taking into consideration the characteristics of national educational institutions, must be secured in schools, vocational technical schools and secondary specialized educational institutions" (2).

So far no positive results have been achieved from efforts to develop a uniform amount of general educational knowledge for students attending the various types of secondary education schools. This circumstance as well has led to the pessimistic conclusion of the impossibility of resolving this problem at all. However, the social demands toward the educational system urgently call for abandoning the efforts to legitimize differences in educational standards of graduates of the various types of secondary schools. It is only on the basis of a uniform volume of general education knowledge in a given area of social life that the actual rather than formal rapprochement among individual social and professional groups of working people could be achieved and selection for higher educational institutions become based on individual capabilities and inclinations for one type of activity or another without any input of social selection premises. The establishment of a single volume of general education knowledge for all types of schools and supplementing universal youth secondary education with universal vocational training will "bring about in the future...a rapprochement between and unification of general education and vocational schools, which will constitute the further development and embodiment of Lenin's ideas of a single labor polytechnical school" (2).

Structural changes in the educational system and the labor training and upbringing of students mandatorily involve a thorough review of the content of education. Without discussing the strictly pedagogical aspect of this problem, let us point out merely some of its social aspects. Unquestionably, the content of education must be related to the requirements of scientific and technical progress and to developing creative thinking in the young people. Furthermore, it must take into consideration the age characteristics of children and adolescents and their direct ties to specific social and ethnic environments. As we know, neglect of this aspect of the matter in the past resulted in major errors, including overburdening students with materials of secondary importance of no practical significance. Students with a lower sociocultural environment suffered the most. Such a trend in revising curriculums was strictly condemned at the 26th CPSU Congress and the reform earmarks further steps to improve the content of the educational process while at the same time eliminating student overloading.

Naturally, things are not limited to introducing improved uniform curriculums for general education subjects. It is no less important and equally difficult to achieve a higher and more even quality of student knowledge in such subjects. Almost four-fifths of all secondary PTU score grades no higher than "3" as a rule in general education subjects. Furthermore, their real knowledge does not always deserve even that grade. Some young workers, graduates of the old-type PTU (which did not provide a secondary education) did not acquire even this amount of knowledge. The reform stipulates that the "currently existing various types of vocational technical schools will be reorganized into a uniform type of training institution--'secondary vocational-technical school'..." (2). This will provide an equal "social starting line" for the entire young working class generation.

In a multinational country such as the Soviet Union, upgrading the quality of Russian language knowledge by the students is of particular social significance. Unfortunately, considerable gaps in such knowledge have been noted in high school and vocational school students in a number of union and autonomous republics. This not only hinders contacts with other nationalities but complicates vocational and skill training, military service, etc. So far this aspect of the problem of universal secondary education has been insufficiently studied by the sociologists. Clearly, it must be the subject of much greater attention in the future.

Improving the content of education and equalizing the general education training of young people belonging to different social and ethnic population groups and inhabiting different parts of the country ensures "...the creation of equal conditions for VUZ enrollment...and opens new opportunities for further improving the training of specialists with higher education. The social base for training VUZ contingents will be broadened. The responsible and conscious attitude of young people toward higher education will be enhanced" (2). Toward the end of the last decade more than one-half of new VUZ students came from the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry. The educational reform will make it possible to make this indicator even more consistent with the social composition of the population and actually to ensure maximally equal access to higher schools to all youth groups. Furthermore, we should expect that such a planned "leap" in the development of secondary vocational training will reduce the percentage of young candidates for VUZ enrollment.

At the same time, the vocational training system will substantially change the ratios in the social shifts of young people. The share of students enrolling in secondary PTU will roughly double in the future. Secondary school graduate boys and girls who have not enrolled in the VUZs or secondary specialized schools will be given the opportunity of acquiring a profession at 1-year secondary PTU departments.

Consequently, alongside general education schools, the vocational-technical training system will become the most widespread form of social development of young people. Hence, in our view, the need to concentrate the exercise of a unified state policy in training worker cadres, which is currently scattered among numerous departments, in the hands of the Committee for Vocational-Technical Education.

The need to intensify the state control of the social shifting of young people and their vocational training is dictated not only by changed production requirements and the need for full and comprehensive training of new generations for labor and for a variety of social functions, but also the need to ensure the efficient utilization of the intellectual potential of our society. The survey of the degree of realization of the intellectual potential of the working class, based on an all-union sociological study of the rapprochement between the working class and the intelligentsia (7, volume II, pp 11-28), proves that the increased general education and professional knowledge of workers, young workers in particular, is still by far not fully utilized. The number of surveyed workers possessing high general education

and vocational skills is approximately double that of those actually performing highly skilled jobs. In a number of cases inefficient use is also being made of the work of specialists with higher and secondary specialized education: they are frequently employed in jobs which hardly require such extensive training. The percentage of school graduates entering unified secondary vocational-technical schools, which will double, as stipulated by the reform, will contribute to the more efficient distribution of school graduates between secondary and higher educational institutions. This will slow down somewhat the increase in the number of specialists with higher education. However, more efficient use will be made of their labor in production.

It should be expected as a result of such changes that the degree of satisfaction of workers and specialists with the work they do will increase. Characteristically, graduates of secondary specialized schools, attended after incomplete secondary school training, are distinguished by greater professional stability and higher level of satisfaction with their work compared to those who enrolled in technicums after graduating from 10th-grade schools. On the other hand, the latter show a greater social maturity and are better trained for performing organizational functions in production. Furthermore, they are older. For such considerations it becomes entirely expedient to retain in the future the enrollment in technicums and other secondary specialized schools young people with both incomplete and complete secondary education. The following stipulation is of essential importance: "We must develop the experience of training specialists with higher education among graduates of secondary specialized schools with a shortened term of training" (2). We have already shown our support for this variant and spoken out in favor of reorganizing some of the technicums into specialized VUZ departments. Possibly, this idea as well may be considered in the future. However, even that which is already contemplated at this stage will be a major step in developing and perfecting secondary specialized schools and improving the degree of their social efficiency.

Secondary specialized schools "train skilled specialists and organizers of primary levels of industry, education, health care, culture and services. They reinforce the ranks of the largest detachment of economic specialists and participate in resolving the problem of universal secondary education" (2). The need for specialists with secondary specialized training encourages the more efficient deployment of such cadres in production work. Estimates have indicated that the growth rates of people with higher and secondary specialized education among workers and kolkhoz members is substantially higher compared to employees and specialists; in the period between the 1970 and 1979 population censuses, the share of such individuals among workers engaged in primarily physical labor increased by 148 percent, compared to 19.5 percent among those engaged in primarily mental work (8, p 64). The growth rates of labor productivity and the speed and extent of social changes in the aspect and structure of the Soviet intelligentsia and many other social processes greatly depend on the rational utilization of specialist labor. That is why, in our view, the imminent question is one of the unified management of secondary specialized education in the country and improving planning and distribution of secondary level specialists.

The social aspects of the best possible "coupling" of general education schools with the various levels of youth vocational training do not, naturally, cover the entire variety of structural changes within the educational system, as earmarked by the reform, or their profound social consequences. As we know, training in incomplete secondary schools has been extended by 1 year. If this year were to be added "at the top," the already complex situation with manpower resources would unquestionably become worse. However, it is added "at the bottom," by starting school at the age of 6. The psychological and pedagogical substantiation for this decision has long become clear. The social aspect of the problem is much more complex. We already mentioned the numerous advantages of extending training in primary schools for the rural population. In the case of the urban population, where transportation is more developed and there are more schools compared to rural areas, however, other problems arise relative to looking after 6-7-year-old children, their nutrition, recreation, etc. The solution here appears to be the accelerated expansion of the network of schools with extended-day groups. In the 1982-83 school year the number of such groups was half the number in rural areas (28,000 and 56,000, respectively), although the 11.8 million students were almost evenly distributed between town and country (6, p 456). Therefore, the share of "extended-day" urban students remains much lower than in the rural areas. The main reason is the shortage of premises. Therefore, the building of schools planned for the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plans must ensure not only an adequate number of student places but also possibilities of converting the majority of urban schools to one-shift work and organizing in them extended-day groups equipped with everything necessary for extracurricular work with the students.

The role of the school as the organizer of all this work becomes greatly increased. It is precisely the school that the activities of circles and other forms of organizing the recreation of children in the microrayons must be concentrated--that which the Sverdlovsk educators had described as "education complexes." Such complexes will influence the entire life in the microrayon, above all the way of life of the parents, without whose active participation the difficult problems of the education and upbringing of children and adolescents cannot be resolved.

At this point we come to another important aspect of the future reform: perfecting the management of the system. Many urgent and as yet unresolved problems have piled up in this area: the shortcomings in the social education statistics we pointed out, formalism in assessing the activities of schools, which lead to the notorious "percentage mania," lack of coordination in the activities of individual managing levels and many others. A considerable share of such problems are being resolved either directly in the steps stipulated in the reform or their future solution has been contemplated. Above all, the state authorities must "...steadily pursue a single state policy in the education and upbringing of the growing generations. They must resolve promptly and creatively the imminent problems which will enhance the level of work of all training institutions in accordance with contemporary requirements" (2). Interdepartmental commissions will be created centrally and locally; the rayon level of education management will be strengthened; greater attention will be paid to rural schools; and the party stratum among

teachers and production training instructors will be broadened. The functions of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences will be greatly expanded and its responsibility will be increased for, among other things, the systematic study of the economic and social problems of education. In our view, sociological studies are a necessary structural component of activities in education management. The further development of the specialized scientific discipline of sociology of education is needed.

Sociologists should pay attention not only to the traditional study of student plans and guidance (although the new system enhances their importance), but also the broader problems of upgrading the social efficiency of education, the various forms of social upbringing of children and adolescents and the interaction among the school, the family and the public, training institutions and production collectives and education and mass information bodies. Another aspect of sociological research discussed in a separate section of the reform is "the teacher in Soviet society."

During the 1982-1983 school year more than 2.3 million teachers were employed in the country's schools, three-quarters of them with higher education and virtually all others with secondary specialized education (6, p 459). This is one of the best-educated detachments of the intelligentsia (in terms of level of education matched only by medical workers; in terms of the percentage of people with higher education, teachers are clearly in first place); it does not include so-called practical workers. The CPSU Central Committee document on educational reform describes the labor of the teacher as "dedicated and selfless." This is no exaggeration whatever. The success of the forthcoming reform will depend to a decisive extent precisely on the teacher, on his experience and skills. During the 1982-83 school years the normal institutes and schools had nearly 1.4 million students (6, pp 463-464); of these, 70 percent in the pedagogical institutions and 90 percent in the normal schools were women (6, p 473), a ratio which has been maintained for a number of years. What "repulses" young men from schools training education cadres? The complexity of pedagogical work, the low salaries, compared to other categories of working people,³ and the extreme lack of leisure time. Not least in this connection is the role played by the inertia of social opinion which considers the teaching profession as primarily one of women and not prestigious.

The educational reform stipulates measures to enhance the overall standards and broaden the outlook of teachers by acquainting them with the foundations of contemporary production and increasing their knowledge in the humanities, including ethics, aesthetics, logic and law. Training in pedagogical institutes will be extended from 4 to 5 years; engineering-pedagogical education will be developed (so far there is only one engineering-pedagogical VUZ in the country, in Sverdlovsk). The training of teachers in universities will be continued. The network of normal schools will be gradually reduced as the training of teachers and educators on all levels of education will be transferred to the higher education system exclusively.

Sociology must give great and comprehensive assistance to the Komsomol organizations in selecting for the pedagogical VUZs young people who have proven themselves in Pioneer, Komsomol and other educational work with

children and adolescents. We must make a thorough study of the plans of "candidates for pedagogy," the system of their value orientations and the level of their ideas concerning the education profession. In our view, an equally detailed study must be made of similar social characteristics of young teachers in order to formulate specific recommendations relative to their social and professional adaptation. In the opposite case the efforts spent in enrolling young people in pedagogical VUZs would subsequently turn into a mass exodus of already trained cadres from the schools. It is equally important to continue to study the material living conditions of the teachers, particularly in the rural schools.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the social significance of the steps taken to strengthen the training material education facilities. The full satisfaction of the population's need for preschool institutions must play an essential role in equalizing the level of readiness of the children to attend school and to be promoted along the various educational levels. The planned conversion of the schools to one-shift work and reducing the size of the classes are related not only to increased expenditures on schools but also the increased number of teachers. Despite such difficulties, however, this measure aimed at upgrading the quality of school training is unquestionably timely.

The educational reform planned by the party confronts sociology with many new problems. The summing up of results of the nationwide discussion of the reform draft and its implementation will require taking new steps for the further enhancement of the efficiency of sociological research of public education problems and the vocational training of young people.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The first stage of the study was conducted jointly with the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History in six USSR areas (4). The second stage was part of an international study with the participation of a number of socialist countries. It was conducted simultaneously in 13 cities in the European part of the RSFSR (USSR Academy of Sciences ISI) and the three Soviet Baltic republics (the SSA Baltic Department).
2. The first stage of the study was conducted in 1983 in Moscow schools and enterprises. Several other areas will be covered subsequently.
3. The average salary in public education, including highly paid higher school teachers, was 137.5 rubles in 1982 (6, p 371), which placed them in 14th position among the various sectorial groups of working people. In 1965 they were ninth.

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AESTHETIC EDUCATION: INTERACTION OF GENERAL EDUCATIONAL SCHOOLS AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 84
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[Article by V. A. Razumnyy: "Aesthetic Education: Interaction Between General Educational Schools and Cultural Institutions." Vladimir Aleksandrovich Razumnyy is a professor, doctor of philosophical sciences and head of social sciences chair at the USSR Ministry of Culture All-Union Institute of Upgrading the Skills of Cultural Workers. He is a specialist in philosophical problems of art and culture and the author of more than 10 monographs, including "Problema Tipicheskogo v Estetike" [The Problem of the Typical in Aesthetics] (1955); "Eticheskoye i Esteticheskoye v Iskusstve" [The Ethical and the Aesthetic in Art] (1959); "Problemy Sotsialisticheskogo Realizma" [Problems of Socialist Realism] (1963); "Esteticheskoye Vospitaniye. Sushchnost'. Formy. Metody" [Aesthetic Upbringing. Nature. Forms. Methods] (1969) and "O Partynosti Iskusstva" [On the Party-Mindedness of Art] (1970). The present article is his first publication in our journal]

[Text] Aesthetic culture is a complex structural formation which includes spiritual values past and present and activities aimed at their reproduction, dissemination and propaganda and, finally, aesthetic knowledge, skills, abilities and the creative talents of the individual.

Currently the most difficult task of "aesthetic universal training" is being implemented in our country. So far, however, its system and methods are not totally consistent with the requirements which the contemporary stage in building communism formulates in terms of the spiritual qualities of the individual. The question of the social significance of aesthetic culture becomes particularly relevant in connection with the reform of the general education and vocational schools.

The purpose of all of these essentially important steps is substantially to enrich the social functions of education and to enhance its role in the all-round and harmonious development of man as the main productive force and the highest value of society. In this connection, the document stipulates the need "to improve the overall education of young people and their political, labor and moral upbringing in accordance with the requirements of the development of our society and its future objectives" (3). This task is concretized in a number of stipulations of exceptional importance to the future of the schools, affecting labor activities and the civic qualities of the individual. The draft of the reform emphasizes that aesthetic education must be

used more extensively in resolving such problems and upgrading school quality and efficiency. Aesthetic education, in our view, should be considered not only as a means but as an independent area of training and shaping the spiritual aspect of the growing generation.

As we know, the harmonious development of the individual is the scientifically substantiated ideal of the communist society. K. Marx pointed out that "the purpose, the vocation, the task of all people is comprehensively to develop all of their capabilities" (1). The upbringing, education and training of "comprehensively developed and comprehensively trained people," V. I. Lenin emphasized, "people who know how to do anything" (2) is the strategic task in building communism.

The immediate objective of aesthetic upbringing is to develop the specific aesthetic capabilities of the individual: to see, hear, move, and express his inner condition and emotions based on the laws of beauty. Today, under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, this aspect acquires particular significance. The aesthetic principle in man is not only created and developed in the course of the labor process but substantially affects the structure and content of activities and largely predetermines the production standard of the contemporary worker.

Without properly developing the ability to see, today a person cannot master the most refined technological processes which frequently become similar to artistic labor. According to physiological data, people obtain 90 percent of their information through their vision. The possibilities of the vision are virtually limitless, for the eyes can perceive up to 10 million color hues. For example, A. G. Fedotkin, a foreman at the Moscow Platinum Needles Plant imeni Kommunisticheskoy Internatsional Molodezhi, can see an error of a hundredth of a millimeter "with the naked eye" (4). In the past, before the blast furnace process became mechanized, experienced steel smelters could distinguish up to 45-50 different color hues which "signaled" the degree of temperature. Naturally, vision improves in the course of practical interaction between humans and nature. Furthermore, man has developed a specific type of activity--graphic creative art, in which the activities of the hand which creates an image is based on the development of the eyesight. This helps to broaden the range of vision, for seeing and perceiving are quite different. It is precisely such a specialized visual training which is required today in a number of mass skills in industry, related to miniaturized details and precision equipment.

Perfecting the ability to move expediently and expressively, and freely to master all the plastic resources of one's body is the most important prerequisite for the adequate inclusion of the person in a world of most complex technology. Already today the disturbed interaction within the "man-automated process" system is entailing quite tangible losses. In order to ensure the comprehensive development of the plasticity of the body, mankind has developed forms of choreographic activities such as folk, ballroom and classical dancing. It is precisely exercise dancing which led to artistic dancing and choreography turned figure dancing into a ballet on ice, where sports and art become indivisible.

The ability to hear the expressive side of a sound signal (quite refined today in a number of technical processes) is one of the most important prerequisites for the high-level creative potential of the worker. As we know, a developed aural perception leads above all to the development of musical activities and artistic reading. A "sensitive" ear is needed not only in order to achieve a profound understanding of musical masterpieces but for normal functioning in all sorts of activities.

The growth of aesthetic culture as a factor in the development of basic human feelings and creative capabilities is today subject to considerable attention in a number of countries. Bulgaria, for example, has adopted a program for nationwide aesthetic upbringing (5). It includes the following basic parts: (1) upgrading the role of artistic standards and mass information media in molding the individual; (2) upgrading the role of other social institutions in aesthetic upbringing; (3) intensifying the aesthetic influence on the individual by nature and the human environment. The program has been under way since 1975. It is differentiated on the basis of age group and is being steadily improved. School students in Japan study music, choreography and graphic arts and the number of class hours dedicated to such purposes is quite similar to the one suggested by those who formulated the first school program in our country. In the United States the ratio between natural science-mathematical and aesthetic disciplines has substantially changed in recent years: more time has been assigned for mastering the latter. In the FKГ tests in a technological institute mandatorily include artistic drawing (not only draftsmanship) (6).

We believe that in the course of our school reform we must take both foreign and domestic experience in this area into consideration, the activities of our outstanding educators above all, such as P. P. Blonskiy, S. T. Shatskiy, A. S. Makarenko and V. A. Sukhomlinskiy.

As it develops the specific aesthetic qualities of the individual, aesthetic education influences other abilities as well: autonomous thinking is strengthened and becomes intensified in resolving problems and in eliminating mental loads. Let us recall that in the experimental schools, where aesthetic education is extensively practiced, no homework is assigned, for the entire material is mastered in class. One of the main ways for energizing rational-cognitive actions is developing, starting at an early age, the ability to derive aesthetic pleasure from the search for truth. In explaining Lenin's idea on the role of the emotional factor, N. K. Krupskaya wrote: "One cannot organize the mind without, at the same time, organizing the mentality, the feelings" (7). This problem becomes particularly topical in connection with the task formulated in the reform of developing in the students the skill of mastering scientific information by themselves.

Naturally, so far a great deal of unclear and unknown aspects remain in the mechanism of the interconnection between the emotional and the rational. What is unquestionable, however, is that beauty and the artistically organized influencing of human feelings and creative capabilities and aesthetic activities are essential and efficient factors in increasing the potential of the individual and, therefore, society. In this connection, let us refer to

the following familiar facts: mathematically gifted children who play music accelerate the development of their own mathematical capabilities; practicing graphic arts develops constructive thinking, etc.

Finally, the aesthetic standard of a person substantially influences the behavior and moral consciousness of the individual and, through him, the political views, requirements, moods and attitudes toward other people and the collective. Here is a rather noteworthy fact: according to the RSFSR Ministry of Culture, over the past 11 years not one of the more than 600,000 students attending children's music schools has been charged with antisocial behavior.

We are by far not absolutizing the role of aesthetic culture. The latter is only one of the aspects of shaping the individual and internalizing the values of socialist culture which is based on a communist outlook. "It is a question," Lenin said, "of opening the door to the type of social system which can create beauty immeasurably superior to anything people could even dream about in the past" (8).

The impact of the aesthetic principle on industry and on the organization of our way of life, recreation and communication is broadening. Specialized, including sociological, studies must be made to enable us to earmark the specific ways and means of maximally utilizing the positive consequences of said process. It is already clear, however, that introducing beauty in the world of interpersonal relations, emotions and feelings of individuals and the development of the level of feelings should be considered a national task. Briefly stated, as an element of the comprehensive approach to shaping a new type of individual, aesthetic education becomes today a social necessity. For the first time in history this was codified in the USSR Constitution (Articles 20, 27).

The upbringing and educational system which has been established in the country and the material facilities for culture offer extensive opportunities for molding comprehensively developed individuals. Thus, at the beginning of 1981 we had 99,306 children's extracurricular institutions, including 4,844 palaces and homes for Pioneers and secondary school students, 1,335 stations for young technicians, 863 stations for young naturalists, 233 excursion-tourist stations, 7,691 children's music, art and choreographic schools and 8,367 children's libraries (9). More than 2 billion books and pamphlets were published in 1983 and during that year motion picture attendance by adolescents totaled 4.1 billion (10).

A great deal has been accomplished but even more remains to be done. Thus, according to the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Main Culture Administration, 153 music schools are operating in Moscow. No more than 4-5 percent of the city's school students are being educated within this system (which is not oriented toward subsequent professional activities but toward general musical development).

This situation is usually explained by citing the insufficient development of material facilities for artistic culture oriented toward the aesthetic education of the children. However, it is hardly possible to reduce the actual

possibilities of such a type of education merely to quantitative indicators. The education potential inherent in socialist culture itself should be used more efficiently and rationally. This is confirmed, among others, by the results of sociopedagogical experiments and sociological studies (11).

We know that in a number of parameters in the development of the individual we have achieved significant and universally acknowledged successes already within the framework of secondary school training. However, if we put together the sum total of aesthetic habits, skills and knowledge which every graduate should have, we see that it is still far below the level of contemporary requirements. Let us refer to the following facts: secondary school students today study classical literature the volume of which is one-half that of the prewar years; the development of artistic culture as well has remained virtually unreflected in history curriculums and textbooks. As to the ability of children to perceive and understand complex and profound works of art, the results achieved by the school leave something to be desired.

Innovative educators have proved that the teaching of literature, music and graphic arts can become a factor of active aesthetic and, consequently, moral, political and ecological development of the individual. Unfortunately, however, this experience has not become widespread as yet. For example, to this day fiction as taught in the initial grades is used primarily as a kind of illustrative material in teaching the natural sciences and as an addendum to social science studies.

Major problems remain in teaching music and graphic arts. What results could be achieved in a painting class if the number of students in the classroom is sometimes as high as 45 and when no less than 15 minutes are needed for distributing or collecting papers, paints, pencils, etc.? (The situation would hardly change by the future reduction of the number of students in a classroom not to exceed 30.) Usually, music lessons are equally undereffective. The lesson lasts no more than 45 minutes and presumes neither the study of basic music theory nor basic playing of music. Furthermore, many schools lack the necessary instruments. Yet children choral singing is an age-old tradition. Dances, which have always played a tremendous role in the life and the aesthetic and moral development of the people and in enhancing communications standards, have been totally eliminated from the program for school artistic subjects. The situation is worsened by the fact that most schools have no specialized teachers in these subjects.

Consequently, the paradox is that teaching the aesthetic subjects in the schools does not yield the desired results under circumstances in which the overall cultural potential of the country has reached a level of which one could only dream in the past.

It would be suitable to bear in mind, in this connection, the experience in developing an aesthetic culture, which we acquired during the first years of building socialism. Many of the conclusions and recommendations of that time --frequently based on Lenin's direct instructions--are still amazing in terms of their depth and pedagogical expediency, for the most noted representatives of the sciences and the arts were recruited by the State Committee for Education and the People's Commissariat of Education. The program on the "Unified

Labor School and Model Plans for Classes In It" (12, p 99) was drafted under the guidance of A. V. Lunacharskiy. His deputies in the commission were N. K. Krupskaya and Academician M. N. Pokrovskiy. The theater section of the People's Commissariat of Education was headed by V. E. Meyerkhol'd. The literature curriculum was drafted by N. Ya. Bryusova with the direct participation of her brother the poet Valeriy Bryusov. Composers R. M. Gliyer and B. V. Asaf'yev and the educator B. L. Yavorskiy participated in drafting the part on "Singing (Music)." Academicians I. A. Orbeli, N. Ya. Marr and I. E. Grabar' were members of the Collegium on Museum Affairs, which issued a number of valuable recommendations on the interaction between museums and schools. A. Benua, A. Blok and P. Morozov and the painter I. Al'tman were members of the commission drafting a program for the publication of classical works of the literary-artistic department of the People's Commissariat of Education.

According to the program the schooltime of the child was to be divided into three equal parts: productive work based on the latest technological achievements, in order to master polytechnical knowledge and the skills, habits and mentality of the working class; mastery of the foundations of science in order to develop the intellectual potential and the ability to handle modern technology; finally, mandatory artistic education: music, graphic art, choreography and theater. The program particularly emphasized that "aesthetic education must be practiced as developing the creative feeling of children. The graphic arts must teach them how to perceive the visible objects, spatial and colored, and to feel their beauty and expediency. Music must be such as to enable them freely and directly to express their feelings in sounds and perceive all voices and sounds heard in the world. The purpose of plasticity is to experience the emotion of one's own body and everything which moves in space. The art of word and action and drama is a means of expressing one's feelings and inner life through words and actions. Having become accustomed freely to speak, move, hear, see and act, in the course of his life the child will be able to use such skills easily and without confusion" (ibid., pp 176-177).

Noteworthy in this respect is the viewpoint in the document of the State Commission for Education (of 16 October 1918): "Aesthetic education must mean not the teaching of some kind of simplified art for children but the systematic development of the organs of the senses and creative capabilities. This would broaden the possibility of enjoying beauty and creating it. Any labor or scientific training deprived of such an element would be deprived of spirituality" (ibid., p 102). This approach to aesthetic education has not lost its practical validity to this day.

Unfortunately, so far no single scientifically substantiated system for purposefully influencing the emotional world of the individual is not to be found today within the framework of sociopedagogical activities. One of the reasons for this is the widespread view that the emotional world of man is an unstable area which is manifested in a vague and strictly individual form. Such a viewpoint is excessively one-sided. However, this question exceeds the scope of the present article.

Naturally, the school alone should not be blamed, for we also have the radio, television, sound recording, cinematography and artistic photography which, to begin with, considerably broaden the audience of lovers of the arts and, secondly, lay a qualitatively new foundation for the dissemination of amateur creative work and, perhaps, for upgrading the efficiency of aesthetic upbringing as well. However, in this case we frequently come across phenomena and processes which affect young people adversely. It is artistic taste which enables a person to distinguish between what is truly valuable and what is a "forgery." Adults play the leading role in developing such a taste, parents above all. However, the final word is once again the school's. The question, therefore, is the following: under what circumstances could the school become the main center of aesthetic upbringing?

In our view, despite some efforts made by the education authorities, the schools will not undertake the implementation of an extensive universal aesthetic education program in the immediate future. First of all, they are short of the necessary material facilities and, secondly, of the necessary number of specialized teachers. Finally, the current curriculum does not permit the allocation of the necessary time for the proper study of subjects within the aesthetic cycle.

The solution of the problem appears to be a conversion from cooperation between schools and art and culture institutions to their purposeful regulated interacting. This is based on the ideas of Makarenko and Sukhomlinskiy, which called for the proper utilization of extracurricular time. We believe that a similar approach to the problem of comprehensively upgrading the efficiency of aesthetic upbringing deserves even greater development in the course of the direct implementation of the school reform.

The idea of a training-educational institution in which a general education and a specialized school (music, art, sports, etc.) would be combined "under the same roof" has been practically substantiated through a number of experiments. This solution is usually referred to as the Belgorod variant, for "Yasnyye Zori"--was set up in Belgorod Oblast for the first time. However, it failed to become widespread: it is still not possible to open a number of specialized schools consistent with and on the basis of the rural general educational schools. Obviously, a more economical and efficient way must be found of integrating the educational forces of schools and cultural institutions.

The Scientific Research Institute of General Educational Problems created in 1978 a laboratory on "Interaction Between Cultural Institutions and General Educational Schools for Aesthetic Education." The thorough study of the Belgorod experience made it possible to formulate a program for creating a center for aesthetic upbringing for all children of nearby settlements, based on a music school (which retained its specific nature and student body) in Rostov Oblast. An arts school was opened at the Sta-aya Stanitsa village in Kamenskiy Rayon, with the support of the party and public organizations. This experiment, which has gone on for the past 5 years, is being carried out by a collective of educators headed by D. G. Belousov, honored worker in culture of the RSFSR.

The essence of the experiment (already described in the central press (13)) is the following: three times weekly all students from the first to the 5th grades attend the aesthetic education center together with their extended day group educators, after classes. Music and graphic art classes are based on a 2-hour program; choreography is taught one hour weekly; another hour is used for the study of other types of art, such as theater, motion pictures, television, etc. Educators and method workers from the nearby club are constantly seeking new forms of efficient work, above all in the area of mass artistic activities. They have created interesting visual aids and applied progressive training principles within the limit of the extended day. A specially built premise in the center provides the training environment.

The studies which were conducted by the staff of the psychology chair of the Rostov Pedagogical Institute indicated that the level of general educational training of students attending the center was higher compared to their coevals attending conventional schools. Particularly noticeable changes occurred in the moral appearance of the students. Thus, whereas 5 years ago the question of "problem adolescents" was acute in the village, particularly among fifth-grade students, today this problem has simply vanished.

Other cultural institutions as well could be used as such centers. Thus, an experiment was initiated in Ust-Ilimsk in which the children's libraries assumed the management of aesthetic upbringing.

The club which, under contemporary conditions, is increasingly becoming a place where people sharing common interests meet, rather than an "entertainment" center, could and should play a most important role in resolving such problems. Unfortunately, despite considerable material and cadre resources, most clubs continue to apply the old methods of work. The idea of using the club as an aesthetic education center was implemented in Togliatti. Since 1980 an arts school has been in operation at the Palace of Culture of the AvtoVAZ Production Association, where all the student body of a school is given music, art and choreographic training. On the basis of this experience, for the first time in our country a citywide program for universal aesthetic education was adopted in 1983; its implementation is one of the city's urgent tasks. Approximately one-quarter of Togliatti's needs for culture and art institutions (based on USSR Gosstroy norms) have been met. So far 7.7 percent of the population is involved in programs for aesthetic upbringing and amateur artistic activities. Yet, the city has a significant cadre potential. With a population of 573,000, it has 1,503 members of creative associations, educators, and so on (14). The efficient utilization of these forces is possible only within the framework of a unified aesthetic education program.

The initiative of the party and other public organizations in Ivanovo as well deserves close attention and support. The city has a considerable number of painters, actors, musicians, choreographers, museum associates, etc. Most of them are involved in programs for mass aesthetic education on a voluntary basis. Music, library and museum classes were started in the senior groups of all of the 136 kindergartens in the city in 1983.

A number of similar examples could be cited. However, this experience raises the following question: would it not be expedient, would proper universal aesthetic upbringing and fine art education of children be impossible during normal school hours to organize it on the basis of an extended school day?

So far, the new forms of interaction between schools and cultural institutions have not been given the necessary support of the education authorities or the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. Naturally, this would require, above all, the all-round substantiation of the economic profitability and educational effect of the various alternatives of such interaction and the formulation of psychological-pedagogical methods for their practical implementation. In this case the sociologists should express their important opinion, above all in terms of the study and creation of a system of aesthetic culture indicators.

Unquestionably, the search must go on. However, already now, in the course of the school reform, we should create extensive organizational and material prerequisites for intensifying aesthetic upbringing and ensuring the comprehensive ties between schools and art and cultural institutions.

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JOB ADAPTATION OF VOCATIONAL SCHOOL GRADUATES

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[Article by I. S. Poltorak and Yu. Ye. Shul'ga: "Adaptation of Graduates of Vocational-Technical Schools to Production Work." The authors are scientific associates at the Dnepropetrovsk Metallurgical Institute imeni L. I. Brezhnev. Ivan Sergeyevich Poltorak is a candidate of economic sciences. Yuriy Yevgen'yevich Shul'ga is a candidate of economic sciences. This is their first article in our journal]

[Text] The reform of general educational and vocational schools calls for making fuller use of the possibilities of the vocational-technical education system in training cadres for the national economy and improving more energetically the work on the vocational guidance of students. These are the problems we have had to consider on the basis of empirical research data.¹

The studies revealed that only 20 percent of the 1,311 PTU [Vocational-Technical School] graduates between 1976 and 1981 who were hired at the plant were still working there in 1982. What were the reasons for such a high turnover?

The first group of reasons has to do with objective factors. In the case of many young people the time of graduation from a vocational-technical school coincides with army conscription time, for which reason, as a rule, they fail to adapt to their profession, the production process or the collective. As a result it is only an insignificant percentage of the now-discharged soldiers who return to their previous jobs. According to shop managers the solution to this situation is to set up training groups of assistant steel smelters, miners, turners, rolling-mill workers, etc., consisting primarily of secondary school graduates who have completed their army service.

Furthermore, the legislation does not contemplate sufficiently effective penalties for individuals who avoid mandatory 2-year production work in their field. Yet, about 17 percent of all graduates do not look for any kind of work, leave their jobs or are fired for labor discipline violations. The overwhelming majority of young people who left the plant during their first year of work were PTU graduates in other cities. More than 15 percent of the individuals assigned to specific enterprises were out-of-towners. According to experts, the cadre departments and enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses should categorically forbid the hiring of young men and women who have not

met their job assignments. A suitable entry to this effect should be made in the internal passports of such vocational-technical school graduates.

In a word, the steps included in the school reform aimed at better satisfying the needs of the national economy for manpower resources should, in our view, be supported by administrative-organizational decisions. Their purpose would be to improve the assigning and use of graduates of schools and vocational-technical schools.

The second and currently main group of factors in retaining vocational-technical school graduates in their jobs involves the organization of the training-education process and the vocational guidance of young men and women.

Studies have shown that most graduates, particularly of the 1980 and 1981 classes, were guided in their choice of school with the desire to become independent faster or else to follow the example of their friends; about 20 percent of those polled answered that their enrollment in the specific PTU was accidental. A relatively small number (37 percent) expressed the desire to acquire an interesting profession and to become skilled specialists. Such views largely determine the attitude toward the chosen profession. Thus, 46 percent of those polled emphasized that they were not particularly pleased with their subject even while undergoing training at school; 5 percent were indifferent.

The training process as well poorly influenced any interest shown in a given skill. According to the experts, the level of PTU training of 44 percent of the graduates is inconsistent with job requirements and is very low in 12 percent. The subjects themselves rate their knowledge and skills in a roughly similar way: 38 percent consider them inadequate and 10 percent entirely inadequate. The reasons given were gaps in theoretical training and poor familiarity with contemporary metallurgical equipment, machine units, new technological processes and advanced labor methods in the chosen skill.

The main complaints voiced by those surveyed had to do with the organization of the production process. Some 40 percent of seniors in two base vocational-technical schools at the plant were dissatisfied with its content to one extent or another; 15 percent were totally dissatisfied. About one-half of the students explain this with the fact that during production practice they had no workplace of their own; 40 percent had no tools of their own, etc. According to the students, they did not always feel the concern of the labor collective. Some 80 percent were not involved in the measures organized by Komsomol or other public organizations; many students noted that their first production success was left unnoticed. It is all of these factors, the surveyed individuals believe, that have hindered them during the period of production training to gain an adequate idea of their future specialty and become convinced that they have made the proper choice.

The conclusion which imposes itself is the following: It is precisely in the course of production practice that most students develop once and for all their attitude toward their future profession. We believe that the shaping

of positive views should be the concern not only of production training foremen in PTU but also of enterprise shop managers. It was precisely thus that this question was formulated in the CPSU Central Committee draft: active participation in organizing the labor training and upbringing of students is the most important obligation of production collectives. In addition to the suggested measures (help in selecting people as production training foremen, organizing special workplaces, etc.), it seems to us that the training of youth sponsors should be systematically organized at the plants with the help of the leading enterprise specialists; surveys of scientific and technical information on problems of interest to teachers and students should be prepared on a regular basis. The condition of training and education work and organizing production practice should be regularly discussed at joint meetings of enterprise technical councils and educational councils at base vocational-technical schools. It would also be expedient to assign skilled cadre workers for the entire PTU training period to assist first- and second-year students. Moral and material incentive steps should be taken more extensively.

FOOTNOTE

1. The study was conducted in 1982 by the sectorial scientific organization of labor and management laboratory of the Dnepropetrovsk Metallurgical Institute imeni L. I. Brezhnev at the Krivoy Rog Metallurgical Plant imeni V. I. Lenin and the base PTU enterprises. The survey covered students and graduates of vocational-technical schools and young workers; representatives of the shop administration acted as experts. Plant documentation was studied as well.

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DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOPOLITICAL ACTIVENESS OF SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

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[Article by N. B. Alekseyeva: "Developing the Sociopolitical Activeness of Secondary School Students." Natal'ya Borisovna Alekseyeva is assistant professor at the scientific communism chair of the Moscow Oblast Pedagogical Institute imeni N. K. Krupskaya. This is her first article in our journal]

[Text] The nationwide discussion of the CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions in the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools" has ended. It was pointed out in the course of the discussions that the purpose of the school is to train and educate the young generations in accordance with the social conditions in which they will live and work. "In the area of ideological-political education," the draft emphasized, "molding a conscious citizen with firm communist convictions must become the cornerstone. All elements in the training and education process and all school social life must work toward this purpose" (1).

Determining the level of civic maturity of high school students is a difficult task which essentially presumes the study of the entire character of the student: ideological-political and moral consciousness, value orientations and motivational areas of attitudes toward society and various types of activities. Our study¹ also covered a rural area in which school education has a number of special features. Let us point out that in recent years rural training conditions have become much closer to those in the cities. Thus, in 1981 a considerable percentage of the 26 new schools built in Moscow Oblast were based on blueprints which anticipated many components of the "school of the future."

However, schools with small numbers of students remain characteristic of the countryside. The oblast had 153 schools in operation in the 1982-1983 school year, each of which were attended by fewer than 10 children. In the future, the public education network will be developed in such a way that each central farmstead will have its secondary school and production centers and the countryside will have incomplete secondary or primary schools depending on the number of children. This means that there will be schools even in the smallest "futureless" villages and that the parents will no longer be concerned about their children having to attend school away from home. The architects are drawing blueprints for schools for 20 to 40 students. For the time being, previously closed older premises are being reopened.

In our study, however, we proceeded from the fact that regardless of the type of school, the quality of training and education within it depends on the teachers. Most of them have higher or secondary pedagogical training like their urban colleagues. Unlike the latter, however, they rarely remain within the same school. Cadre turnover among rural schoolteachers is a very important problem and although some researchers have discussed the "green wave" of people willing to transfer from urban to rural schools, the "ebb" remains stronger than the "flow." We considered this problem from another aspect: we know that both on the part of society as well as students the demands which face the teachers are increasing steadily, in terms of their experience, knowledge and skill, qualities acquired after years of work in an education collective. Here is the portrait of the "ideal" teacher as drawn by senior classmen,² in which the share of students who have noted this quality as one of the main ones is indicated in percentiles: profound knowledge of his subject and ability to present it to the students: 82.5 percent; an exigent attitude toward himself and others: 36.5 percent; respect for the student as a person: 70.8 percent; ability to raise sharply questions which excite students: 36.2 percent; simplicity and modesty: 37.8 percent; responsiveness: 56 percent; principle-mindedness: 22.7 percent; sense of humor: 62.3 percent; and optimism: 24.4 percent. This breakdown shows that the greatest demand is for the teachers' professional knowledge. Second, which, in our view, is natural, is a teacher's quality such as respect for the person of the student, for adolescence is a time of sharpened perception by the person of the social assessment of his personality. The apparent "sensation" of the survey was the third place given to the teacher's sense of humor. However, this as well is entirely explainable in terms of the features of the age group, the intense emotional life of adolescents and the fact that humor is the educationally strongest and most effective means of handling psychological conflicts which arise in the classroom. The results of the survey indicated a broad range of demands facing the educator and the great importance which is ascribed to the moral qualities of the teacher along with his professional ones.

Let us recall in this connection that our pedagogical VUZs do not even train professionals but simply "subject specialists." As to the professional and cultural growth of the teacher after his graduation, all we could say is that "...according to scientific estimates, the teacher performs more than 200 different types of work. He spends 4-5 hours daily in preparing for his classes and grading papers. Approximately 10 to 12 hours weekly are spent on guard duty with parents and engaging in extracurricular activities" (2).

Naturally, the teacher is not alone in his work with school collectives. The Komsomol organization is assigned a major role in the upbringing of senior classmen. However, does it always fulfill this function? To the question "Does the Komsomol organization resolve sociopolitical problems suitably?" a total of 64.1 percent of the children answered in the positive and 31.4 percent in the negative (the remaining 4.5 percent left the question unanswered).

Therefore, approximately one-third of those surveyed were not satisfied with the work of their Komsomol organization. As with answers to other questions this was due essentially to the limited nature of its work methods. The

latter are dominated by political education, political information in particular, oral newspapers, question-and-answer evenings, talks on political topics, lectures on the international situation and conferences. Unquestionably, all of this is important. However, the school should not forget methods which offer broader scope for student initiative and enterprise.

The more so since, as the survey made clear, the main source through which students acquire information on domestic and foreign events is not political training classes but television, which was named as the basic source of such information by 85 percent of those surveyed; 74 percent named the radio and 62.3 percent the press. In this series political information at school is ranked among the lowest--33.1 percent. The question arises as to whether it is needed in the current traditional form? (Incidentally, no more than 14.8 percent consider classroom political training interesting.) Should we not undertake a search for more efficient means of broadening the political outlook of high school students?

School training means not only lessons in physics or history. It is far easier to teach a student how to resolve a standard problem than to teach civic- and principle-mindedness and to help him to become an activist and an organizer in working with people.

The noticeable utilitarianism which has become apparent of late in the approach to social assignments constitutes a major danger in terms of educational work at school. It appears as though the adolescent would conscientiously perform any type of work but only for the sake of a good reference at graduation time, a grade 5 in "behavior," and a recommendation for the VUZ. Frequently the work of a collective as well is rated only on the basis of the number of activities: the level of political work is assessed on the basis of the number of talks and mass cultural work on the basis of motion picture attendance. It is this kind of arithmetic which determines ratings in competitions, awards and prizes.

We should not be astounded by the fact that in answering the question "How do you feel about fulfilling your assignments?" the breakdown was as follows: with pleasure, 41 percent; from a sense of obligation, 48.3 percent; from habit, 7 percent; unwillingly, 3.7 percent.

The social activeness of senior classmen could be enhanced by studying the motivations governing their individual behavior and their interests (including those indirectly related to schoolwork). The senior classmen are quite sensitive to the attitude of their coevals concerning their activities. That is why each project should end with a collective discussion and mandatory drawing of lessons for future use.

Therefore, in our view, further improvements in the civic upbringing of high school students requires, above all, changes in the ratio between mass educational work and individual work in favor of the latter (which is possible in small rural schools); relieving teachers from a number of nonmandatory assignments; better organization of the leisure time of secondary school students; and enhancing the role and prestige of school Komsomol organizations.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The survey covered Lyuberetskiy and Krasnogorskiy rayons, Moscow Oblast. A total of 1,046 ninth- and 10th-grade students were questioned. Two or three views could be singled out in the closed questionnaire.

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PREVENTION OF ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR AMONG TEENAGERS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 84
(signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 83-85

[Article by V. S. Obchinskiy: "Preventing Antisocial Behavior Among Minors." Vladimir Semenovich Obchinskiy is candidate of juridical sciences, militia captain and deputy chief of the inspection department of the Moscow Oblast Executive Committee Main Internal Affairs Administration. He is the co-author of an article on the struggle against parasitism published in our journal (No 3, 1983)]

[Text] A course on "Foundations of Soviet State and Law" has been taught in the eighth grade of general schools, PTU [vocational-technical schools] and technicums for a number of years. Despite this, however, the organization of the legal training of adolescents cannot be considered satisfactory. This problem was emphatically raised by V. Blinov, RSFSR Minister of Justice, in the course of the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions in the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools." He pointed out that a number of sociological surveys show that among the majority of senior classmen ideas relative to basic legal norms are abstract. "As a rule, the young people find themselves in a dead-end street when faced with resolving one situation or another (even the simplest) from the legal viewpoint, hence their infantile awareness of the law" (2).

The study of cases of juvenile delinquency indicates that many adolescents have rather vague ideas concerning the principles of criminal and administrative law and juridical responsibility for their actions. This is explained by the fact that the schools consider legal training a secondary subject, assigning it to poorly trained teachers and rarely recruiting law enforcement personnel.

The CPSU documents emphasize the exceptional importance of moral and legal training in molding the new person. The school must develop the inner need to live and act in accordance with the principles of communist morality and strict observance of the rules governing social community life and Soviet laws (1). We believe that in the course of the implementation of the steps stipulated in the school reform the entire system of legal education in general education and vocational schools must be improved; the legal training curriculum must be revised; new textbooks must be published and the legal retraining of social science teachers must be organized comprehensively. The ties between schools and vocational-technical schools, on the one hand, and law enforcement organs, on the other, must be strengthened.

We know that legal liability is assumed by minors starting at the age of 14. For this reason, in our view, the foundations of the law must be studied not starting with the eighth grade, as is currently the case, but the sixth-seventh, i.e., from the ages of 12 or 13.

The problem of anti-alcohol propaganda in schools and PTU is quite important. An undesirable situation has developed. According to a selective survey conducted among "problem" adolescents in one of the Moscow Oblast rayons, a third of them consumed alcoholic beverages on a regular basis (every week). They included high school students. Some educators believe that anti-alcohol propaganda in schools is in general "unethical" and that all efforts in this direction must be reduced to the study of individual cases of consumption of alcoholic beverages by adolescents, accompanied by antisocial behavior. Not even this is being done by educators and instructors in PTU. As a result, the adolescents lack even basic knowledge of the adverse effect of alcohol on intellectual and physical development, health, ability to work and progeny (3, p 103).

Sex education and preparing young men and women for family life is a major aspect of the matter. Ignoring such problems has a very tangible influence on the outbreak of so-called family conflicts, which frequently precede severe crimes committed against individuals.

In the course of the reform great attention will be paid to labor training and vocational guidance. Let us additionally point out that schools and PTU should develop in the students intolerance of any forms of parasitism and avoidance of socially useful labor. The results of a study we conducted indicate that in the case of individuals engaged in a parasitical way of life tendency toward parasitism begins to develop at an early age: 20 percent of those polled avoided both school and work during their adolescence.

The prophylactic importance of the steps stipulated in the section on "Social Upbringing of Children and Adolescents" is of exceptional importance. However, this section also calls for increasing the responsibility of parents for the education of the children. We believe that a criterion of the social significance of a worker should be not only his production successes but his contribution to the education of his children as well. As was justifiably pointed out in the course of the discussion of the reform draft, it would be expedient to develop not only new "rules for students" but also "rules for parents."

The moral atmosphere which develops in one school or another plays a major role in developing a respect for the law among adolescents. That is why the reform document should mandatorily include a stipulation which would indicate the unacceptability of string-pulling in schools and PTU, directly related to all kinds of giving presents and so-called "percentage mania." All of this triggers many violations of the law in the future. As I. Kon points out, a high school student who has become accustomed to a system of averaged indicators, is already psychological prepared for enterprise figure padding (4). Therefore, the struggle against formalism at work begins at school.

Formalism is particularly intolerable in assessing the moral and socio-political qualities of the students. The press has frequently raised the question of the fact that the references issued to a secondary school and PTU students are inconsistent with reality and conceal the real shortcomings of the adolescent. An interesting study of school characteristics of young workers who keep switching jobs endlessly was made by a plant in its study of the reasons for cadre turnover. According to the references given by the school, the author notes, the graduates should immediately be classified as shock workers: they apply themselves, they are disciplined and they always take their assignments seriously. Yet, one year after graduating, those who "apply themselves and are disciplined" have switched jobs several times "without visible reason" (5).

It is noteworthy that in the course of the discussions of the school reform draft suggestions were made on upgrading the importance of the references issued to graduates. In order for such references to provide a true picture of the young person, the school and the PTU should use a well-developed system for drawing up the psychological portrait of the students. A deeper study of the personality with the help of accessible methods is necessary also in order to prevent early deviations in the behavior of children and adolescents. This is confirmed by the experience of the establishment of a school psychological service in Estonia, which proved quite effective in the struggle against juvenile delinquency (6).

The moral atmosphere in schools and PTU depends on a number of factors. As was noted at the Sixth Komsomol Central Committee Plenum (1983), some young people have learned to live "the beautiful life" by circumventing legal norms. The point is that the attraction for fashionable objects, foreign "records," etc., inherent in a certain student category, frequently coexists with black marketeering and other unseemly actions. The struggle against such phenomena should be waged not only by promoting the best examples of culture but also by developing more persistently among the young respect for the law.

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SOCIOVOCATIONAL GUIDANCE OF TEENAGERS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 84
(signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 85-89

[Article by V. G. Nemirovskiy: "Image of a Desired Future as a Factor in Shaping the Socioprofessional Orientation of Adolescents." Valentin Gennad'yevich Nemirovskiy is a candidate of philosophical sciences and senior instructor at the chair of scientific communism of Krasnoyarsk State University. This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] The laws governing the sociovocational guidance of secondary school students have been studied in great detail by Soviet sociologists. However, the question of the role which the "image of the desired future" plays in the aspiration of the young person to assume a specific position within the social structure and in his choice of a specific profession has been insufficiently studied. The term "image of a desired future" indicates the sum total of life targets of the individual as they appear in his mind. On the one hand, this reflects the needs of the subject while, on the other, the real opportunities offered by objective reality. The question of the plans for life of today's high school students becomes particularly important in the light of the forthcoming reform of general education and vocational schools (1).

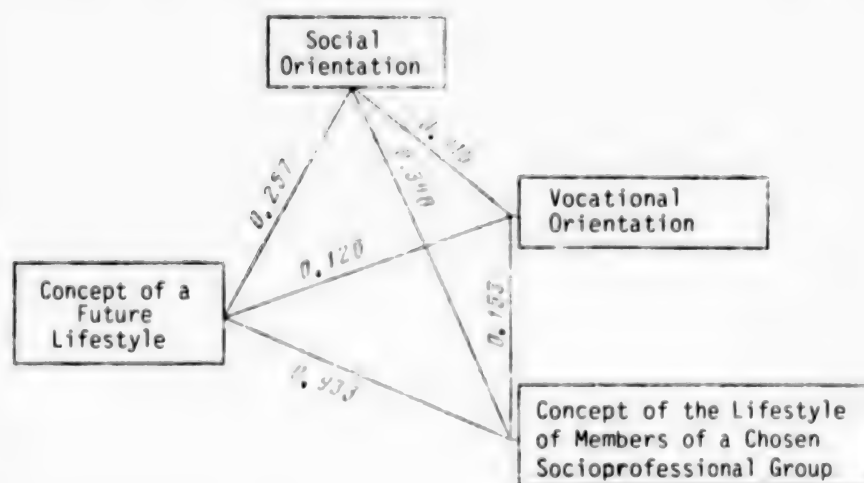


Fig. 1. Interconnection among concepts of senior classmen of lifestyle and sociovocational orientation.

As our study proved,¹ the concepts of senior classmen relative to their future life are closely related to their social orientation (Pearson's correlation coefficient $\phi = 0.257$); they are considerably more oriented toward higher education compared to secondary specialized or vocational training (respectively 0.417, 0.238 and 0.07). Along with enrolling in a VUZ, the following stereotypes dominate the system of life values: "traveling in the country and abroad" (0.392); "the respect of people around them" (0.320); and "a high wage" (0.307).²

The image of the desired future is significantly less tied to a vocational orientation: $\phi = 0.12$. The existence of this connection is determined by the fact that a profession is inseparable from a corresponding social position.

Figure 1 depicts yet another type of connection between the way the children see their future life and their sociovocational orientation. This tie is influenced by the concepts of the students relative to the lifestyle of the members of the socioprofessional group which the responders plan to join. In this case the correlation is quite high: $\phi = 0.933$. As we see from the diagram, this is based on the concepts of their own future lifestyle. This indirect correlation is the stronger the more direct it becomes. Consequently, we may assume that in selecting a profession the circumstance that the activity which the young person shows a preference for would most fully implement his concepts of his future plays a most important role. In such cases the popularity of certain stereotypes prevailing among high school students should be directly proportional to the frequency of their choice of a corresponding realm of activities.

In the case of the individual socioprofessional groups, in the view of the respondents the basic characteristics of the workers' way of life are the following: "high wages," "a happy family life," "existence of broad connections and useful acquaintanceships," and "sharing a bottle of wine with comrades." The 10th graders also relate to the lifestyle of this social category features such as "beauty and physical perfection," "honor titles and government awards."

The distinguishing features in the workstyle of workers in the service industry included above all "the existence of contacts and useful acquaintanceships" and "the possibility of acquiring scarce commodities and services." These were followed by a "happy family life," "success with the opposite sex" and "possession of a car, a dacha and fashionable objects." The respondents were asked to define the way of life of two other groups: engineers and scientific workers. In the first case the set of stereotypes included the following: "beauty, physical perfection," "possibility of managing people," "intelligent and interesting friends," "high cultural standard" and "happy family life." The second included "intelligent and interesting friends," "honor titles and government awards," "relations with famous people," "trips in the country and abroad" and "interesting creative work."

Let us point out that the stereotype variation coefficients were the most widespread among 10th graders ("interesting, creative work," "broad contacts and useful acquaintanceships," "happy family life," "high cultural standard,"

"trips in the country and abroad," "deserved respect of others" and "intelligent and interesting friends"), were considerably below average. To groups of workers, engineers, scientific workers and working people in the service industry these indicators equaled 60.8, 58.6, 38.8 and 68.0 percent. Hence the conclusion that these characteristics play an important role in determining preferences for specific professions by high school students.

As a whole, the degree of variations among concepts of various aspects of life of individuals belonging to one socioprofessional group or another coincides with the frequency with which the students selected corresponding professions. Thus, the level of "dispersal" of concepts of 10th graders relative to the style of life of an engineer was substantially below that of the corresponding lifestyle of personnel and workers in the service industry; in the first case the stereotype variation among students who would like to become engineers was 31.2 percent, i.e., it was lower by almost a factor of 5 compared to the total number of respondents.

A maximal correlation chart was drawn up with the help of a correlation analysis of the students' concepts of their future life, in which the length of the arcs between peaks is consistent with the correlation coefficient among the characteristics which indicate such peaks (Fig. 2).

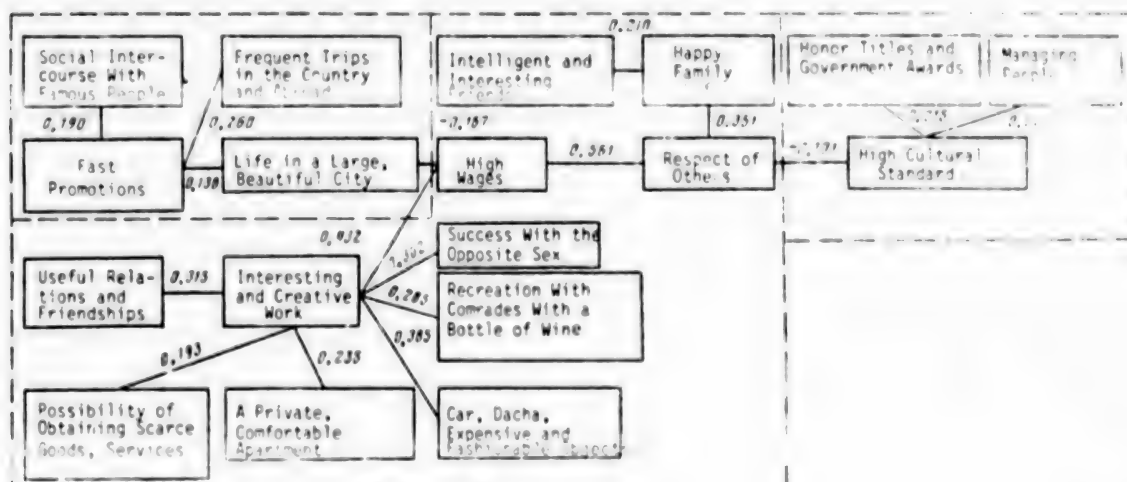


Fig. 2. Correlation diagram of students' concepts of their future life.

Let us single out three separate syndromes in what is desired. The most important among them is the set of concepts related to labor activities. It is like a star the center of which is the "interesting, creative work" stereotype. The existence of this set confirms that engaging in labor

activities is considered by the school students a means of realizing a great variety of aspirations: for romance and adventure, happy family life, high material well-being, useful acquaintanceships, etc.

The second syndrome expresses the orientation of the responders to an active saturated life, above all in the labor area (the stereotype center here is "fast promotion"). The third is desire for high social status. The image of the desired future by the students is directly manifested in their reasons for the choice of a profession. Most closely related to it were reasons such as "the possibility of having a separate premise" (0.326), "high earnings" (0.318) and "possibility of acquiring scarce goods and services" (0.290). In other words, the orientation of a certain percentage of the respondents toward achieving high living standards was directly projected into the professional area.

Therefore, the image of the desired future which, on the one hand, expresses the needs of the student and, on the other, his ideas of reality, is an important internal regulator in the choice of profession. As a whole, high school youth properly realize the objective role of labor activeness as a foundation for the socialist way of life and as a measurement of the share of the social wealth at the disposal of the individual. However, the instrumental attitude toward labor remains quite widespread. For that reason the involvement of students with labor must be closely related to their political, moral and aesthetic upbringing and the molding of life ideals consistent with the criteria of communist morality.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Eighteen most frequently encountered stereotype concepts of the various aspects of a future life were singled out on the basis of the study of compositions by 10th graders. These stereotypes were used in drafting a behavioral model which was used in the survey of 700 10th-graders in Krasnoyarsk in 1979.
2. As a whole the data are consistent with the results of representative studies, according to which "prestige" and "material well-being" occupy an important position among the professional values expressed by the student body (2).

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INTEGRAL INDICATORS OF THE SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE

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(signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 90-97

[Article by I. T. Levykin: "On the Question of the Integral Indicators of the Socialist Way of Life." Ivan Tikhonovich Levykin is doctor of philosophical sciences, professor and deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. He is the author of books and pamphlets such as "Nekotoryye Metodologicheskiye Problemy Izucheniya Psikhologii Krest'yanstva" [Some Methodological Problems in the Study of Peasant Mentality] (1970), "Teoreticheskiye i Metodologicheskiye Problemy Sotsial'noy Psikhologii" [Theoretical and Methodological Problems of Social Psychology] (1975) and others. He is the author of a number of articles published in our journal, including "Sociopsychological Foundations of Ideological Activity" (1, 1975) and "The Way of Life as a Subject of Interdisciplinary Study" (1, 1981)]

[Text] The USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research is winding up the processing of data from the all-union sociological study of the way of life of Soviet people, conducted jointly with party organs and scientific institutions in various parts of the country. Some results of this study are published in this journal.

The task of the more profound and comprehensive study of problems related to the socialist way of life was included in the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums. The particular attention of the sociologists was directed toward the need to eliminate the existing gap between acquired empirical data and their theoretical interpretation.

Several systems of social indicators, reflecting the forms and conditions of social activities as a whole, social groups and individuals* have been developed in Soviet publications on the content and structure of the "way of life" category. However, the suggested criteria are hardly different from those used within the framework of social statistics and economics; the actual differences are reduced to the number of indicators to be included in the

* Several variants of this system have been suggested, each one of which has its specific program-target task (3).

system. In our view, this type of approach, the purpose of which is to obtain as much information as possible, is inefficient.

An effort directly to include theoretical and conceptual stipulations in the process of structuring a system of indicators for the study of conditions and circumstances in life, the awareness of the subjects and results of activities, was made within the framework of the all-union investigation of the "condition and basic trends in the development of the way of life of the Soviet people." The study of objective and subjective information and expert surveys led to the determination of the integral indicators which bring to light the active content of the way of life of individuals and social groups and society at large. They are as follows: activeness of the subject of activities, standards of the way of life and social well-being. We proceeded from the fact that living conditions, in determining the objective situation of the activities of social subjects, determine the manifestation of essential personality characteristics. Furthermore, the influence of living conditions on qualitative behavioral characteristics has a complex averaged structure which must be taken into consideration in elaborating systems of indicators and shaping and improving the way of life.

The most important feature of the Soviet way of life is social activeness, a trend determined by the extent of coincidence of social and individual interests. Developed socialism creates the necessary conditions for unity in terms of the main and basic aspects of social and individual interests. However, the mere noting of this fact means stopping halfway. What is the mechanism of interaction between the social and the individual factor in the structure of social activeness? The answer to this question is simple.

Activeness is manifested in all types and forms of joint human activities. This seemingly simple truth is frequently forgotten in the theoretical interpretation of the results of sociological surveys. A certain style has even developed in the study of activeness, limiting the latter to carrying out social assignments, work in elective office, etc. Society, however, is not interested exclusively in types of activity defined as "social work." Studies made in various parts of the country indicate that as much as 50 percent of the adult population participates in discussing draft laws of the country or the republic; 26 percent of the people participate in drafting the resolutions of local soviets of people's deputies; 67 percent attend gatherings and meetings and about 80 percent do voluntary work on Saturdays and Sundays. Nearly half of those surveyed have taken specific steps to eliminate shortcomings they have detected at work or outside work. The position of the person opposing violations of the principles and norms of socialist society (such as negligence, padding, waste) can be qualified only as social activeness. The aspiration to work honestly and conscientiously and, consequently, to earn more, to raise one's children well and to spend one's leisure time rationally can also be classified as social activeness. However, to predetermine social activeness as an obviously positive phenomenon means to violate the law of unity and struggle of opposites in the study of social processes. The underestimating of the asocial activeness of bribe takers, careerists and the like leads to serious negative consequences and hinders improvements in the socialist way of life.

In studying the various manifestations of activeness, as a rule the researcher comes across a multiplicity of value judgments: inadequate attention toward the objectives and priorities of the subject of activities and the reasons for his behavior leads to substituting bare far-fetched systems for the study of specific problems. A broader approach to the study of social activeness as one of the basic quality characteristics of the socialist way of life is necessary. It would be rightful to assume that its indicators are not reduced merely to participation in creative socially useful activities and that the evaluation of activities changes in accordance with their nature and the correlation between objective and subjective individual behavior regulators.

Let us take labor as an example of a determining area of the Soviet way of life. Studies have indicated that social activeness in this area is regulated by technological processes and the nature of wages and their characteristics. The latter define the framework of the activeness of the worker and the interest shown by the members of the labor collective in upgrading production quality and implementing plans depends above all on objective organizational factors. Therefore, it is a question of closely combining material with moral incentives, discipline organization and rhythmical production. In this case the activeness of the individuals is the consequence of efficient economic organizational and educational work, the purpose of which is to stimulate the creative initiative of the working people and to interest them in adopting stressed plans. Where idling and rushing have become customary, even a socially useful initiative meets with no support and withers away.

In studying the way of life we must take into consideration that labor is one of the realms of manifestation of human activeness, which could take place in various areas of activity and assume a variety of forms. From the value-normative viewpoint, such forms are brought together by the extent to which the real behavior of the people is consistent with the objectives of the progressive development of society and the labor collective. In this case the standard of the way of life acts as the integral indicator.

A number of researchers have raised the question of the correlation between culture and way of life. The way of life is considered a personality-practical characteristic of assimilated culture which, in turn, acts as a certain standard of the way of life of the individual. V. I. Tolstykh emphasizes that the interconnection between culture and way of life is determined by the content and functional closeness of such quite disparate concepts (4). According to E. S. Markaryan, who considers culture an area of scientific knowledge encompassing all areas of social life, the way of life is "a particular manifestation of culture, conceived as a means of human activity" (5).

Soviet sociologists are actively developing various aspects of production standards, way of life and recreation and problems of political, moral, economic and aesthetic culture. The culture of communication (6), which regulates the joint activities of individuals, is considered quite important in educational work. The ability to understand other people and adequately to react to the actions of those around us and to choose a proper line of

behavior toward them (7) are inseparable elements of human activities, consistent with the norms of a truly socialist culture. In this respect, culture is not limited to an individual behavioral area but is an integral indicator of the way of life, which enables us to appreciate the degree of development of socialist norms and their embodiment in actual human activities. The standard of the way of life is, on this level, the end result of purposeful educational influences. In our view, any socially significant activity can be rated as cultural. "The new standard of knowledge, convictions, morality, etc., is increasingly embodied in the practical activities of the individuals. This legitimately leads to higher standards in social behavior (including in political relations and management)" (8).

At the present stage in the development of socialist society, the Leninist concept of applying the achievements of culture in daily life becomes particularly relevant. It is a question above all of the unity of knowledge, convictions and world outlook principles and the daily behavior of the individual. This unity is shaped in the course of education and upbringing and gaining personal social experience; the frequently encountered cases in which people think one thing, say something else and do something else again, confirms the existence of major problems and difficulties in the purposeful molding of a way of life standard.

We already pointed out that the active approach to the way of life presumes the study of behavioral structure in connection with its objectives and motivations. The most important components of social mentality, target setting and motivations are developed in the course of the mastering of individual values and norms by the individual and the playing of social roles prescribing specific rules of behavior under specific life situations. It is clear that, acting as characteristic restrictions, social norms and values cannot fully coincide with individual situational concepts of instrumental-pragmatic orientation. This phenomenon, known in social psychology as dissociation between verbal and actual behavior, reflects an exceptionally important circumstance from the viewpoint of the methodology of the study of the way of life: social norms and values, determined as a result of mass surveys, find their "existence" exclusively on the verbal-cognitive level. The extrapolation of survey data for purposes of an integral way of life requires exceeding the limits of the cognitive component of mass consciousness and the involvement of extralinguistic means of analysis and interpretation of respondent statements. For example, the concept expressed in talks with those interviewed of "being useful to society" means, above all, the fact that the respondent is familiar with this characteristic of the Soviet way of life as a universally significant norm or value. However, this does not mean in the least that it acts as an instrumental imperative which determines the behavior of the individual in specific life situations. Studies have indicated that the noncoincidence between orientations of which a person is aware and a formal behavior is closely related to qualitative differences between the normative and practical standards of an ordinary consciousness. Therefore, the frequently listed cases of disparities between knowledge and behavior are not sufficient grounds for conclusions as to the level of conviction which is a characteristic sociopsychological phenomenon rather than an intermediary link connecting knowledge with actual behavior. The establishment of

direct cause and effect relations is unacceptable here, for convictions are also knowledge which, however, is not included within the context of practical activities and emotional-practical concepts, abilities and habits codified in instrumental values. Awareness of the individual's social responsibility for his actions plays an important role in shaping convictions. It is precisely social responsibility which turns convictions into the main criterion of a free choice of behavioral "strategy" and, consequently, a specific way of life.

As the main content of the concept of "way of life standard," the study of political, moral and aesthetic convictions requires the formulation of a special methodical apparatus and indicator system which would reflect the following: (a) knowledge acquired in the course of education, self-education and gain of social experience, embodied in skills, habits and style of thinking; (b) emotional-willful attitude toward social life, manifested in political, moral and aesthetic moods; (c) an active life stance determined with the help of social stipulations, motivations and plans for life; (d) actual behavior under specific circumstances of daily activities.

The objective conditions in which the needs, objectives and life plans of individuals are implemented are perceived and evaluated by the individual as social well-being. Unlike material and spiritual well-being, the dynamics of which is reflected in impersonal social statistical indicators, well-being acts as the result of the subjective assessment of the standard and quality of life reached. It would be simplistic to consider the tie between real well-being and social well-being as linear and simple. Studies have indicated that the well-being perception mechanism is quite complex and determined by a great variety of factors.

During the latest 5-year periods the country's social development has been characterized by the accelerated growth of the material well-being of the population and improvements in the social infrastructure. Corresponding changes have taken place in the awareness of the people and their views and assessments of the various components of the living standard. The all-union study revealed a rather tangible (averaging 15-20 percent) excess of the number of positively perceived changes in material factors over the past 5 years compared to the assessment of the social situation (tables 1 and 2). The degree of satisfaction of the working people with the present state of affairs in the areas of income and housing and food supplies is quite high as a whole. However, the material and cultural needs of the people are increasing faster than the possibility of their satisfaction. This makes entirely natural the lagging of assessments relative to the condition of the way of life behind the subjective perception of changes within it.

The differentiated analysis shows that the indicators of satisfaction with various factors of the way of life vary substantially depending on the area. The conventional view notwithstanding, urban residents rate their material well-being lower than rural residents, with the exception of housing conditions and leisure-time opportunities. This proves that significant successes have been achieved in implementing the task set at the 26th CPSU Congress of equalizing territorial differences (1).

Table 1. Rating the Different Factors of the Way of Life
(percentage of "good" ratings based on a 3-point scale)

<u>Selections</u>	<u>Factors</u>					<u>Overall Living Conditions</u>
	<u>Material Well-Being</u>	<u>Food</u>	<u>Clothing</u>	<u>Housing</u>	<u>Leisure-Time Opportunities</u>	
All-union	37.7	53.3	40.8	43.5	39.3	49.3
Large cities	34.1	52.0	36.0	43.5	43.1	51.7
Rural areas	45.4	57.7	49.9	43.7	35.0	54.3
Young people (18-29)	34.4	56.3	44.0	36.3	39.2	54.8

Table 2. Rating of Trends in Changes in the Various
Factors of the Way of Life
(percent of respondents according to whom the situation
has improved over the past 5 years)

<u>Selections</u>	<u>Factors</u>					<u>Overall Living Conditions</u>
	<u>Material Well-Being</u>	<u>Food</u>	<u>Clothing</u>	<u>Housing</u>	<u>Leisure-Time Opportunities</u>	
All-union	68.0	54.8	62.0	52.0	37.5	71.3
Large cities	69.5	55.6	65.7	52.3	36.1	72.9
Rural areas	75.8	67.1	70.3	62.5	42.6	78.2
Young people (18-29)	65.3	48.5	64.8	46.3	22.6	68.6

The young people assess changes in living conditions more critically than other population categories. This is understandable, for the generations now entering life could hardly be expected to imagine to their fullest extent the tremendous changes which have taken place in the standard and quality of life of the Soviet people. Although the questionnaire gave a 5-year "guideline," the respondents proceeded from a broader system of relating the past to the present. Some data, however, indicate serious problems. For example, only 22.6 percent of the youth positively rate changes in the leisure-time structure. And indeed, the development of the infrastructure of life shows the greatest lagging behind population requirements.

A very indirect link exists between satisfaction with material well-being and spiritual requirements. The studies indicate the existence in a number of social groups of an increased share of individuals whose daily activities are increasingly dominated by an orientation toward sociocultural values. This confirms a gradual shifting in the center of gravity of social well-being toward the sociocultural area.

The perception of the existing situation with the satisfaction of needs is correlated in the mind of the individual with the desire, the "required"

model. The mechanism which shapes ratings of social well-being and the choice of a behavioral line takes place within the range limited by what should be and what is. In educational practices we must take into consideration that views on a desired situation are not always consistent with socially significant objectives. Therefore, the study of "models" of a desired situation in life, typical of mass consciousness, is an important task in sociological research.

Therefore, the perception of social well-being is based on a dialectical interconnection between the external (objective) situation and the inner world of the individual, his value orientations and life plans. Such interconnection is dynamic and influenced by a number of variables. Changes in well-being indicators stem from the objective process of improved material and spiritual conditions. They are also determined by the dynamics of the values and social expectations of the individual. The determination of the subjective indicators of social well-being through a system of value judgments of the various population categories enables us to avoid straight automatic conclusions as to the correlation between the living standard and quality characteristics in the human mind and mentality.

In analyzing the mechanism of perception of well-being it is necessary to note that views on what should be and what is desired are largely determined by the social expectations of the individual. It is precisely such expectations that act as a standard for comparisons and evaluations. As a rule, the expectations of the individual are tied to a certain point in time--a socially significant event or period in one's personal life. The dynamic stereotype of perception of social processes and phenomena, determined by socioeconomic and spiritual and ideological changes and individual social experience, shaped through the entire preceding life of the individual, determines the dominant nucleus of value judgments which, in turn, actively influence the sociopsychological characteristics of the way of life of the Soviet people.

The structure of social expectations shows substantial differences based on the affiliation of the individual with a class or a demographic group. However, such characteristics are not pure but are affected by value orientations and life plans. Confidence in the implementation of the latter is an important sociopsychological factor which makes social well-being a determinant feature in practical activities. Therefore, the student of the way of life faces a number of complex methodological problems, the principal among which is to determine the complex link among socioclass differentiation, social expectations and social well-being, on the one hand, and daily practical activities, on the other. The solution of this problem lies in the future. What is obvious today is that in order to define the social well-being we need both objective and subjective data. Exclusive reliance on the self-rating of respondents should not lead to conclusions regarding the real situation. Studies have proved the existence of a complex dependency between the general cognitive-emotional evaluation of social well-being and durable sociopsychological mental phenomena.

The interaction among the basic forms of human activities should be reflected in the system of social indicators unrestrained by a discrete list of characteristics but which should reveal the inner integrity and cohesion of the way

of life. In reflecting the dialectical interconnection among types and means of activity and the daily behavior of individuals under specific situations, social activeness, culture and social well-being form a reciprocally complementing system. Each of these parameters covers all forms of activity and behavior, reflecting a specific aspect of the value-normative approach to the study of the way of life.

The establishment of a new quality of life of the Soviet people, the inseparable features of which are social activeness, collectivism, comradeship, moral health, social optimism, confidence in the future and high labor, consumption and living standards, encompasses all aspects of social life and consciousness. Obviously, the empirical indicators should cover the dominant ties and the reciprocal shifts among concepts which present the way of life as a dynamic phenomenon.

The dynamism of the Soviet way of life is not reduced to purely quantitative changes. The consideration of specific stages and periods in the development of our society, which leave their specific imprint on the social mentality of one or another age group, is of major significance. The assumption may be expressed (to be checked subsequently) that the consciousness of the people, the perception of social well-being in particular, changes with a certain periodicity. The latter is determined by changes in the well-being of the people and the characteristic features marking the life of different generations. At certain stages in the age cycle (in youth, for instance), the probability of negative manifestations may be higher. For this reason, the social indicators of the way of life must be differentiated from the age group aspect.

The elaboration of indicators is of practical value only if accompanied by a steady search for current unresolved problems relative to perfecting the way of life. This means that sociology must comprehensively interpret the interaction among social processes and phenomena, bring to light positive and negative trends and, in the final account, define the key trends in social development and planning. Particularly worthy of attention from this point of view is the study of problems of life situations and the mechanisms of updating needs, interests and behavioral "strategies," aimed at the implementation of specific plans and programs for life. The value-normative approach to the study of the basic features and characteristic activities of the various population categories enables us to define the basic guidelines in influencing through education the way of life of the Soviet people by surmounting negative phenomena incompatible with the norms of communist morality and the rules of socialist community life and to upgrade the efficiency of the struggle against the influence of the bourgeois way of life. The problems of molding and formulating communist ideals and convictions and the creative activeness of the masses, frequently considered as separate from the real way of life of the various social groups and strata, need a certain reinterpretation. "The ability to see and support popular initiative on time, considered in the broadest meaning of the term--from a concerned and creative attitude and work to active participation in the administration of the state and society, is the greatest, one could say the inexhaustible reserve of our progress," K. U. Chernenko emphasized at the February 1984 CPSU

Central Committee Plenum (2). The education of the new man is not a question of verbal-didactic influence but a directed change in living circumstances and in the social consciousness of the people.

The study of practical activities and awareness in their conflicting and complex interaction provides a key to the elaboration of efficient practical recommendations aimed at perfecting the socialist way of life.

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GROWTH OF SOCIOPOLITICAL ACTIVENESS IN SOVIET SOCIAL PROGRESS

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[Article by A. F. Dashdamirov: "The Growth of Sociopolitical Activeness as a Law in the Advancement of the Soviet Way of Life." Afrand Fridun ogly Dashdamirov is a doctor of philosophical sciences, professor and corresponding member of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences. He is the author of works on problems of national relations, including the monograph: "Natsiya i Lichnost'" [Nation and Individual] (1976) and "Sovetskiy Narod" [The Soviet People] (1977). This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] Resolving the problem of perfecting developed socialism, formulated by the communist party, presumes that the progressive changes which are occurring in the economic, political and cultural areas must become firmly rooted in the way of life of the people, for, in the final account, changes in daily activities and in the prerequisites for them are the main content of social progress and a yardstick in the development of the individual. As K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, emphasized in his speech at the February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, it is particularly important today "to ensure the increasingly closer interaction among the economic, social and spiritual progress in Soviet society" (2).

Therefore, the question of the criteria of maturity of the socialist way of life assumes increasing theoretical and practical significance. Without undertaking a detailed study of viewpoints on this matter formulated in philosophical and sociological publications (7) let us note merely the following: the majority of authors consider, entirely justifiably, in our view, this criterion as a combination of objective with subjective factors and qualitative and quantitative aspects of activities in their integrity, reflected in the concept of living standard. A profoundly scientific dialectical interpretation of this category was provided at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum (3). The living standard is determined by the activity of the masses and, at the same time, finds in the latter its main manifestation. Many CPSU Central Committee documents adopted last year are aimed precisely at the further development of the initiative of the working people. Thus, the December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized the following: "The ability of economic managers and public organizations to mobilize the people and to achieve high end work results must be the criterion in determining the way the individual enterprises and associations implement party decisions" (4).

Upgrading under socialism the social activeness of the people and using it purposefully in resolving topical practical problems have profound and objective foundations related to the sources and mechanisms of historical progress. The intensified importance of the active personality principle is one of the specific manifestations of the general sociological law of the increased role of the people's masses. However, adequate conditions for the subjective factor to become a means of social progress to the fullest extent arise only with the conversion to a communist socioeconomic system. The humanistic meaning of socialism as the first phase of communism lies precisely in the close legitimate unity and interpenetration between the personal and the social. "It is only with socialism," V. I. Lenin wrote in his time, "that the fast, real and truly mass movement forward in all areas of public and private life begins with the participation of the majority of the population and, subsequently, the entire population" (1).

The increased participation of the masses in social affairs is a necessary prerequisite for achieving the party's most important strategic objective: the all-round harmonious development of the individual. As we know, this presumes the raising of highly cultured people able to engage in a variety of creative projects. The molding and, even more so, the detection of such qualities to their fullest extent are possible only in the course of transforming activities. However, the new type of individual does not appear spontaneously, but is established in the course of purposeful systematically educational work. The features of the members of the future communist self-management system must be developed as of now, in the course of resolving socioeconomic problems. It is only on the firm foundations of real socialism that the fruitful molding of a comprehensively developed person is possible. This precisely is the essence of the socioeconomic support provided for ideological work. The efficiency of the latter is largely determined by the nature and content of the people's work, way of life and recreation and their education and cultural standards. The higher these are the more favorable become the conditions for the spiritual blossoming of the individual, although one does not automatically stem from the other.

At the same time, as we know, the process of shaping a socially active person has another necessary side: ideological support in resolving managerial and socioeconomic problems. The development of the creative initiative of the masses and their high conscientiousness and feeling of responsibility are under contemporary conditions the most important prerequisites for the maximal utilization of the country's scientific and technical and economic potential, the practical utilization of the possibilities of social progress inherent in developed socialism and effective means of accumulation and growth of communist principles in the way of life. "To be able to see and support popular initiative on time," noted K. U. Chernenko in his speech at the February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "in the broadest meaning of the term--from an economical and creative attitude toward one's job at the workplace to active participation in the administration of the state is the greatest, one could say the inexhaustible reserve of our progress" (2).

Therefore, in considering the way of life through the lens of the social and, above all, sociopolitical activeness of the people, on the one hand, it is

possible to determine the manner in which it specifically refracts the interaction of objective and subjective factors, unity of activities and its conditions and, on the other, to analyze the manner in which changes in the way of life affect various social and economic processes. Consequently, the deeper and more complete our knowledge of the mechanisms which govern the shaping and manifestation of social activeness becomes the more effective will become its influence on the various realms of social activities and the more purposeful will the utilization of the laws and advantages of socialism become.

The problem of the criteria and laws governing the socialist way of life may not be reduced merely to the social activeness of the people. Along with enhancing the latter, strengthening its material and spiritual foundations, developing the social structure, strengthening the international unity of society, etc., are of the greatest possible significance. The interconnection among these aspects should be the subject of a separate consideration. This question will be treated in the present article only to the extent to which it affects the main topic.

Upgrading the sociopolitical activeness of the masses is a subject of constant party concern. This concern is manifested to its fullest extent in the activities of the Azerbaijan party organization. By virtue of a number of reasons--errors in national economic management and in other areas of life during the 1960s--in terms of the growth rates of socioeconomic indicators the republic fell significantly below the average union level. The violations of the Leninist principles of party leadership which were allowed to occur at that time and omissions in organizational and ideological work created a nutritive soil for the energizing of individualistic moods and vestiges of the past in the minds and behavior of the people and an intensification of a petit bourgeois mentality and acquisitiveness. The Azerbaijan party organization found a solution to the situation which had developed above all in stimulating and relying on the activeness of the working people (5). The sociopolitical base of the socialist way of life was substantially strengthened above all. Thus, during the 10th Five-Year Plan the number of workers and employees in public production increased by 20 percent. Compared to 1975 in 1980 the number of specialists in agriculture had increased by 26 percent and that of mechanizers by 21 percent. Today more than 43 percent of the working people in the republic's national economy are women. Considerable successes have been achieved in enhancing the well-being and cultural standards of the population. The share of individuals with higher and secondary (complete and incomplete) education is 83.2 percent, a figure superior to average union indicators. Today this applies to one-half of the young workers, which is double the number of such individuals among the older generation. During the 10th Five-Year Plan real income increased by 20 percent as compared to 17 percent during the previous 5-year period (6).

The republic's socioeconomic achievements had a substantial positive influence on the structure of the interests and requirements of the population. They improved the quality of life of the people, strengthening their confidence in their own forces, and contributed to the growth of their initiative

in labor and sociopolitical activeness. All of this was reflected in the sociological studies of the way of life conducted in the republic in 1982.* According to the resulting data, 65 percent of the people believed that their material well-being significantly improved during the 10th Five-Year Plan; 55 percent improved their housing conditions; 67 percent had wage increases and 40 percent had more leisure time. Nearly 90 percent of those polled agreed that "as a whole their life was good (or satisfactory)."

Therefore, information revealing the assessment of the respondents relative to their living standard is consistent with the changes which have taken place of late in the socioeconomic area and lead us to conclude that the working people are highly socially satisfied. The most important component of this social satisfaction is the optimism shown by the Soviet people. Confidence in the future, expressed by nearly 90 percent of the respondents, is a mandatory prerequisite for the growth of conscientiousness and the acceptance of the ideals and norms of a socialist way of life. Thus, according to 97 percent of the respondents, success in life requires above all industriousness, a conscientious attitude toward labor, honesty and principle-mindedness. Responsiveness and sensitivity were considered very important human qualities by 94 percent of the respondents; 96 percent named the existence of a goal in life and 73 percent named initiative-mindedness and active participation in social life.

These features express not just some abstract concepts. They characterize the daily activities of the people surveyed. This is confirmed by the following data: 84 percent of the respondents believe that the people around them try to work as well as possible and to display initiative in their work and in social life (63 percent) and treat public property economically, as their own. About 80 percent are always helping their fellow workers and 87 percent are well-informed of the state of affairs in the labor collective and events within the country and abroad.

However, it would be erroneous to claim on the basis of said data that the feeling of collectivism has become determining the behavior of all people and that the opposites of socialist morality have been eliminated. A considerable percentage of the respondents ascribe great importance to contacts with "people they need" and to the ability to adapt. A similar stand is encountered most frequently among young people in the 21-29-year age group and in groups of individuals of preretirement and retirement age. Clearly, on the one hand, this is explained by the existence of increased requirements set by some respondents and the exaggerated role of individual negative phenomena and insufficient confidence in one's own efforts and, on the other, recurrences of petit bourgeois mentality and the penetration into the minds of the

* This project was carried out jointly by the Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. It was part of a unionwide survey. A total of 2,069 people were studied in the republic. This was a representative selection of the basic urban and rural population groups.

people of the norms and values alien to the principles of socialism and, finally, a feeling of dissatisfaction with personal life accomplishments.

As we pointed out, the use of the power of public opinion and reliance on the experience and activeness of the masses are of essential significance in the struggle against negative phenomena. The study confirms the critical perception by many respondents of recurring violations of socialist morality norms. About 25 percent of the respondents noted that some people around them are unconscientious and indifferent to violations of the public order; 44 percent believe that acquisitiveness has become widespread among a certain segment of the population; 24 percent emphasized that many people are concerned only with themselves and their personal well-being. Such data indicate the existence of considerable reserves in harnessing the masses in the struggle against negative phenomena.

However, special educational and organizational steps are necessary to prevent a critical mood from remaining passive or turning into a nihilistic attitude toward our realities but instead developing into an active stance and specific actions. Let us consider the facts. About 37 percent of the respondents in Baku not only are unwilling to tolerate negative phenomena but have taken steps to eliminate various shortcomings. Is the figure 37 percent high or low? On the one hand, it is substantial, for it is a question of the population of a large modern city with all the conflicts occurring in its way of life. On the other hand, the absolute majority of respondents unreservedly condemned values and actions alien to socialist ideology. Consequently, a gap between words and deeds was found to exist in a significant number of people. It is becoming increasingly obvious today that the solution of the problems facing the country presumes not merely the identification and condemnation of shortcomings but direct participation in the practical struggle against them.

This is indirectly confirmed by data on the type of shortcomings which the working people in the republic are unwilling to tolerate in the first place and the specific way in which they fight them. These apply, above all, to shortcomings which hinder their work: poor organization of the production process, violations of labor and technological discipline, production of faulty goods, irresponsible attitude toward official obligations, theft, bribery, figure padding, unsatisfactory moral and psychological climate in the collective and poor hygienic and working conditions. Twenty-five percent of those who answered this question were highly skilled workers or employees. It is they who essentially speak out at meetings and turn to the social organizations and local management authorities. However, the effectiveness of the struggle against negative phenomena remains inadequate including the one waged on the "personal" level. Only one out of three persons believes that his appeal to the competent authorities achieved its purpose; one-quarter of the respondents use other channels and only one out of five tries to eliminate shortcomings by himself. Such data confirm that most careful attention must be paid to any appeal by the working people to party and state agencies, for this is one of the manifestations of the social activeness of the masses.

The republic has acquired significant experience in encouraging the adoption of an active civic stance. The most popular method is discussions and preparations leading to various types of projects and decisions. For example, during the past 3 years 45 percent of the respondents participated in discussions of draft laws of the country or the republic and resolutions of local soviets of people's deputies; 44 percent took part in resolutions of party, trade union or Komsomol organizations; 37 percent participated in measures taken by other public organizations and 31 percent participated in drafting and discussing orders issued by administrations of enterprises, establishments, kolkhozes and sovkhoses; 53 percent of the respondents are engaged in social work on a steady basis and 47 percent carry out temporary assignments.

However, a number of problems remain in the area of stimulating the socio-political activeness of the working people. To begin with, personal inclinations are still not always considered in issuing assignments. Thus, according to the obtained data, 85 percent of the activists try to carry out their assignments as best they can. However, 25 percent of them frequently carry them out unwillingly and without interest. Secondly, such activities frequently take place during working hours. Only 29 percent of the respondents carry out their assignments during nonworking hours and 20 percent (Baku) carry them out virtually always during working hours. Thirdly, by far not all administrations support social activists, as indicated by some 25 percent of those polled in the city. Fourthly, frequently critical remarks and complaints filed by citizens are not given a prompt, competent and convincing answer. More than two-thirds of the respondents believe that success in their efforts aimed at eliminating shortcomings was either partial or totally lacking.

Finally, another important circumstance: the republic's population participates in a variety of measures quite energetically. Meetings at work are regularly attended by 55 percent of those polled and one-third (20 percent in urban and 40 percent in rural areas) attend meetings, rallies, etc., at places of residence. However, the following fact is noteworthy: 46 percent of the respondents indicated that they virtually never address the collective. This is always or quite frequently done by only 18 percent. Obviously, to a certain extent this is affected by old traditions in which meetings "took place essentially on the basis of a scenario written in advance," lacking "an interested and frank discussion; the speeches of the participants are edited in advance and initiative, not to mention criticism, are brushed off or dampened..." (3, p 17).

However, creating favorable objective possibilities that would motivate people actively to participate in the life of the collective and society is insufficient in upgrading the people's activeness. They must be accepted and integrated by the individual as a necessary prerequisite for his daily activities.

Unity between organizational and ideological measures is of prime significance. According to the research data, the overwhelming majority of the respondents share the view that participation in social activities molds and allows the fuller manifestation of civic and political qualities: it makes

the individual more active and helps him to struggle against shortcomings more boldly (79 percent); it strengthens his authority and influence on the state of affairs in the collective (74 percent); it helps better to perform the main work (71 percent); and it enriches individuals with new knowledge and develops their capabilities (65 percent). We believe that the implementation of such positive concepts largely depends, on the one hand, on the extent to which the organization of social work is oriented toward end results and, on the other, the importance of the latter to the participants.

Let us consider in this connection an interesting fact. Forty-four percent of the respondents believe that social activities help some people to advance in their careers and to increase their salaries; 40 percent believe that it enables them to obtain additional benefits (housing, travel vouchers, etc.). Such phenomena do occur. However, the respondents unquestionably exaggerated their scale. To a considerable extent this is caused by shortcomings in ideological education, the purpose of which is to help the people clearly to distinguish between the legitimate promotion of someone who shows high social consciousness and the abuse of position by activists. The former is a change in the social status of individuals natural to socialism; the latter is a violation of the norms and principles of our way of life, against which a persistent struggle is waged.

Increased civic activeness on the part of the working people presumes an enhancement of their general cultural standard, for political culture is one of the fundamental elements of the latter. In this connection, materials on the basic types and realms of activities of respondents is of considerable interest; 60 percent listed among their main occupations during leisure time television viewing and radio listening, reading, educating their children, taking walks or gardening; 72 percent regularly read newspapers, sociopolitical journals or fiction. More than 50 percent are steady or frequent fiction readers and 35 percent go to the movies on a regular basis. However, the various types of creative activities are insufficiently widespread among the population and only 13 percent of the respondents practice them systematically. Here and there participation in amateur artistic activities is less popular than the practice of religious functions. The households of a certain percentage of the population lack or have insufficient facilities to satisfy amateur interests (books, photographic and sports equipment, etc.). Instead, expensive prestige items predominate. To a certain extent these circumstances explain why no more than 35 percent of the respondents rated their possibilities of spending their leisure time as "good"; a similar percentage rated them as "poor," while 10 percent indicated no improvements over the past 5 years.

It is obvious that the spiritual life of some people is of a primarily passive, consumerist nature. The very content of a "consumerist orientation" frequently leaves something better to be desired. Unquestionably, such an attitude can in no case become a foundation for a responsible and interested participation in social and collective affairs.

What are the mechanisms which shape and upgrade the sociopolitical activeness of working people? Study materials enable us to draw certain preliminary

conclusions in this connection. Unquestionably, ideological factors, starting with developing a standard of communication, in which "not only new knowledge is born, new needs and interests appear and an intensive 'exchange of abilities' occurs but various cultures actively interact and a characteristic 'selection' of social and cultural values takes place, traditions and customs are preserved and reproduced, ways and means of activities are transmitted, and a process of education through the directly observed models and individual examples for emulation takes place" unquestionably play a leading role in this matter (8). When contacts are oriented toward giving priority to the social interests they become a necessary prerequisite for an active life stance, including the aspiration to discuss and resolve socially significant problems. Since such a stance is one of the key components of the socialist way of life it offers the possibility, on the one hand, of purposefully influencing the other elements. On the other, it influences sociopolitical activeness itself with the help of sociopolitical and ideological measures.

An active life stance is particularly important in molding the structure of needs (of the youth above all), consistent with the possibilities and problems resolved by society at a given stage. In order to prevent the natural process of increased needs from adopting a one-sided and exaggerated aspect and turn into a manifestation of dependence the individual must be purposefully motivated to engage not in verbal but in active participation in social affairs. Such purposefulness must be characteristic above all in material and moral encouragement of responsibility, conscientiousness and initiative of the people at work, for it is precisely the attitude toward labor that is the foundation of the entire life stance of the individual.

As Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, emphasized, "we shall continue to support the initiative of the masses, the constructive upsurge which seized the party and the people. The main thing now, guided by the resolutions of the 16th Party Congress and the CPSU Central Committee plenums, is to strengthen and multiply the positive changes in all realms of social life" (2). This means that the development of the sociopolitical activeness of the working people and upgrading their role in resolving economic and ideological problems remains one of the main tasks in building communism and, consequently, in scientific research.

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VALUE-NORMATIVE APPROACH TO WAY OF LIFE INVESTIGATION

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(signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 104-109

[Article by L. V. Sokhan', A. I. Vishnyak and Ye. A. Donchenko: "Normative-Value Approach to the Study of the Way of Life." The authors work at the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy. Lidiya Vasil'yevna Sokhan' is a doctor of philosophical sciences, head of the department of philosophical problems of social psychology and co-author of the monographs "Dukhovnyy Progress Lichnosti i Kommunizm" [Spiritual Progress of the Individual and Communism] (1966), "Obraz Zhizni" [Way of Life] (1980) and "Stil' Zhizni Lichnosti" [The Individual's Lifestyle] (1981). She is the author of a review published in our journal (No 4, 1979). Aleksandr Ivanovich Vishnyak is a junior scientific associate. This is his first publication in our journal. Yelena Andreyevna Donchenko is a candidate of philosophical sciences, junior scientific associate and coauthor of the monographs "Potrebleniye i Razvitiye Lichnosti" [Consumption and Development of the Individual] (1982), "Obraz Zhizni" (1980) and "Stil' Zhizni Lichnosti" (1981). This is her first publication in our journal]

[Text] The study of the value aspects of the socialist way of life and the structure and dynamics of life orientations of Soviet people is of both theoretical and practical value. The behavior of the individual is influenced by his needs and value orientations and aspirations and interests which appear under the influence of specific conditions and forms of activity. This interconnection is not always simple. The area of motivational components within the human mind develops according to laws which can be determined only as a result of the systematic study of the trends and contradictions of its development.

The nucleus of the value orientations of the individual forms a hierarchy of assessments of forms of activity and basic targets of human needs, which strengthen and modify the hierarchy of types of activities which depends on objective life circumstances. The study of such hierarchies on all levels of personality value systems (cognitive, emotional, behavioral)¹ is a necessary component of the sociological study of the value aspects of the way of life, for sociological methods "can and must be used not only in the study of objective conditions governing the existence of people but also the reflection of such conditions in their minds, arising needs and interests and changes in value orientations" (1).

The study of the population's way of life in the Ukrainian SSR² was conducted jointly by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research and the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy in 1980-1981. It enabled us to determine the cognitive and emotional-perceptive significance of the various types of activities and objects of life requirements and to define the degree of coordination of value orientations of the individual and the extent of certain forms of leisure time behavior.

The respondents' answers to the question "How important to you personally are the following types of activity?" were used for purposes of empirical assessment of the cognitive-motivational significance of individual realms of life. This was followed by a list of 15 types of activity each one of which was rated on the basis of a four-point scale (from "very important" to "totally unimportant"). In order to provide an empirical assessment of the cognitive-motivational significance of the various objects of vital requirements the following question was used: "Which of the items listed below is important, in your view, and which is unimportant in order to achieve success and well-being in life?" This was followed by a list of 16 items of life values assessed on the basis of a similar scale.

The index of significance of each element was computed in order to determine the cognitive significance of the various realms of activity and targets of life requirements according to the formula:

$$I = \frac{(a_1 - a_4) + 0.5(a_2 - a_3)}{n}$$

in which I stands for significance index; a_1 is the number of people surveyed who consider this element quite important; a_2 is the number of those surveyed who consider this element important; a_3 is the number of people who consider this element not very important; a_4 is people who consider this element totally unimportant; n is the overall number of surveyed individuals.

This formula is analogous to the formula for computing indicators on the basis of subjective scales used in sociological research (2).

In determining the emotional-motivational significance of the various targets of value orientations of the individual we proceeded from the fact that "the quantitative characteristics of the emotional-motivational significance of any object may be used as the 'contribution' which the subject's satisfaction with a given object makes as part of the overall satisfaction with his life" (3, p 129).

The degree of the general satisfaction of individuals with their life and the extent to which the individual elements of this life are satisfied were rated on a 3-point scale and the correlation coefficients were computed in order to evaluate relations among them. We proceeded from the fact that the "likelihood of a dependence between a general and specific level of satisfaction can be assessed on a quantitative basis more accurately with the help of Kendall's rank correlation coefficient" (3, p 300).

The multiple-step territorial selection of individuals over 20 years of age was used. A total of 5,042 people from nine republic oblasts were surveyed, broken down into 63.9 percent urban and 36.1 percent rural residents. Men accounted for 44.9 percent and women for 55.1 percent with a deviation from the standard not exceeding 1 percent; 72.3 percent of the respondents were employed in the national economy, 19.6 percent were pensioners, 2.5 percent were full-time students (in VUZs, technical schools, etc.) and 5.6 percent were temporarily unemployed. The deviation among the last group and on the basis of sectorial employment did not exceed 5 percent. Furthermore, the share of individuals with higher education and specialists-employees turned out to be higher (respectively 6-7 and 8-10 percent). However, taking into consideration the steady increase in the population's education level and insignificant differences in orientations among the members of the individual socioprofessional groups, it would be correct to assume that this circumstance did not affect results.

As Table 1 shows, on the cognitive level the orientation of respondents toward the family circle, the education of children and jobs was dominant. Socially important types of activities such as study, self-education and social work were also rated quite highly. As to leisure time, the active forms of cultural creativity and consumption of cultural values (literature, the arts, technical creativity, participation in amateur artistic activities) were still substantially behind (in terms of subjective significance) the passive forms of recreation, such as entertainment shows, gathering with friends or looking at television.

Table 1. Significance of Different Types of Activities on the Cognitive Level of the Value Orientation System

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Significance Indicator (I)</u>	<u>Level</u>
Being within the family circle and children's education	0.82	1
Work (production activities)	0.76	2
Relation with a loved one	0.64	3
Watching television and listening to radio	0.62	4
Studies, self-education	0.47	5
Social work	0.36	6-7
Social intercourse with friends	0.36	6-7
Visits to theaters, concerts, exhibits and fiction reading	0.20	8
Physical culture and sports	0.14	9
Visiting entertainment establishments	0.13	10
Work with literature and art (literary creativity, music, painting, amateur art performances, etc.)	0.01	11
Travel	-0.10	12
Technical creativity (modeling, photography, ham radio)	-0.25	13
Attending recreation evenings and dances	-0.27	14
Collecting (books, paintings, stamps, reproductions, etc.)	-0.40	15

Table 2. Significance of Objects of Life Requirements of Working People of Different Socioprofessional Groups on the Cognitive Level of the Value Orientation System

Objects of Life Requirements	Socioprofessional Group Workers					
	Unskilled		Skilled		Highly Skilled	
	I*	Level	I*	Level	I*	Level
Health	0.93	1	0.94	1	0.94	1
Industriousness, conscientious attitude toward labor	0.88	2	0.85	2	0.81	2
Purposefulness	0.74	4	0.78	3-4	0.75	4
Honesty, principle-mindedness	0.75	3	0.78	3-4	0.78	3
Responsiveness, sensitivity	0.66	5	0.77	5	0.71	5
Education	0.60	7	0.64	7	0.64	6
Initiative, resourcefulness	0.57	8	0.58	8	1.60	8
Money	0.62	6	0.67	6	0.63	7
Ability, talent	0.55	9	0.53	9	0.56	9
Active participation in social life	0.40	10	0.48	10	0.40	10
Pleasant manners, appearance	0	11		11		11
Helping parents, family ties	0.20	12	0.23	12	0.20	12
Concern primarily for oneself	0.04	13	-0.02	14	-0.06	13
Connections with useful people	-0.02	14	-0.04	15	-0.18	15
Ability to adapt	-0.03	15	-0.01	13	-0.14	14

Objects of Life Requirements	Socioprofessional Group Employees					
	Unskilled		Skilled		Highly Skilled	
	I*	Level	I*	Level	I*	Level
Health	0.93	1	0.93	1	0.92	1
Industriousness, conscientious attitude toward labor	0.84	2	0.85	2	0.84	2
Purposefulness	0.77	3	0.81	3	0.82	3
Honesty, principle-mindedness	0.75	4	0.80	4	0.71	5
Responsiveness, sensitivity	0.74	5	0.76	5	0.78	4
Education	0.66	6	0.66	6	0.55	8
Initiative, resourcefulness	0.58	7	0.64	7	0.68	6
Money	0.49	9	0.52	9	0.40	10
Ability, talent	0.53	8	0.56	8	0.57	7
Active participation in social life	0.47	10	0.48	10	0.43	9
Pleasant manners, appearance		11		11		11
Helping parents, family ties	0.24	12	0.16	12	0.09	11
Concern primarily for oneself	-0.06	13	-0.19	15	-0.36	15
Connections with useful people	-0.16	15	-0.18	13-14	-0.20	14
Ability to adapt	-0.07	14	-0.18	13-14	-0.19	13

* I--significance indicator

Table 3. Significance of Objects of Life Requirements on the Emotional-Motivational Level of the Value Orientation System

<u>Need Objects</u>	<u>Kendall's Correlation Coefficient of the Overall and Individual Indicators of Satisfaction With Life</u>	<u>Level</u>
Material well-being as a whole	0.44	1
Leisure time	0.37	2-4
Social intercourse with friends and relatives	0.37	2-4
Participation in social life	0.37	2-4
Housing conditions	0.34	5
Relations in the family	0.32	6
Job	0.31	7
Health	0.28	8

These data reflect more the structure of the popularity of the various forms of activity than trends in the social development and shaping of the individual. Thus, the survey indicated that 88 percent of the respondents watch television regularly; 83 percent listen to radio; 81 percent regularly read newspapers and journals; and 58 percent read fiction. This was followed by various activities related to studies and self-education (40 percent read specialized works, 39 percent attend political and economic education classes and 34 percent are engaged in social work). Finally, the least widespread were active forms of cultural creativity such as participation in amateur artistic performances, collecting, photography, modeling, rationalization work and writing poetry (only some 6 percent of those surveyed).

The study of the cognitive-motivational orientation toward targets of life requirements (Table 2) indicates that in the view of the respondents the most important from the viewpoint of achieving success and prosperity in life are health, industriousness and moral qualities (purposefulness, responsiveness, sensitivity, honesty and principle-mindedness). The least significant in the people's concepts were socially negative characteristics such as egotism (concern with oneself), connections with "useful" people and ability to adapt. No substantial disparities were found in the assessments given by members of different socioprofessional groups. In the more skilled groups we note merely a somewhat higher rating of initiative, resourcefulness, ability and talent and a lower rating of money.

Therefore, the basic norms of the socialist way of life--industriousness, purposefulness, honesty and responsiveness--are suitably reflected in the minds of the Soviet people and in their understanding of the importance of the different life values. However, judging from the results of the studies, awareness of the significance of one type of activity or object of life requirements or another does not always indicate that they have a decisive influence on the individuals' "social feeling" and overall satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) with life, ensure the psychological comfort of the individual or act as dominant motivations in labor and social activities.

The shaping of emotional-motivational components of value orientations is a more complex and conflicting process than the shaping of cognitive orientations. If we single out the most important elements of living conditions (health, material well-being, housing) and basic forms of human activities (work, participation in social life, leisure time and intercourse and family and education of children), it turns out that an orientation toward material well-being, followed by leisure time and intercourse, come first on the emotional-motivational level. Job and family are only sixth and seventh. However, on the cognitive level these values were listed as dominant (Table 3). Although the people believe that their jobs, relations within the family and health are of great importance in having a successful personal life, the "contribution" of these factors in the overall satisfaction with life is substantially below that of other aspects of activities. This is largely explained by the fact that needs, the satisfaction of which ranks very high, despite their entire importance, do not always govern behavioral motivations or stimulate social activeness.

The insufficiently high position held by work in the value orientation structure is also determined by the quite substantial percentage of unskilled, manual and heavy physical labor, which is a source of contradictions between the judgmental and emotional-motivational significance of work activities.

The main strategic trend in resolving said contradiction on the global level is the radical reorganization of the technological base of production and enriching the content of the workers' labor in the course of the scientific and technical revolution, for "not only material poverty but limited opportunities for meaningful creative activities could convert attaining material goods and conditions (in the presence of material inequality) into the leading means of manifestation of the individual and the assertion of his position in society" (4).

As the survey³ conducted at the Azovstal' Plant (Zhdanov) and the Ukrainian Design-Engineering Technological Institute (Kiev) indicated, workers in automated shops and engineers in design organizations rate much higher the importance of their jobs and conditions for self-advancement compared to workers in nonautomated shops. An orientation toward marital and private life and jobs holds a leading position in the emotional-motivational structure of members of such groups. This agrees with the assessment of these areas of activity on the cognitive level.

Durable principles governing the realization of the various life requirements are not shaped immediately but in the course of the development of the individual's spiritual world. Attaining the level of spiritual development which enables the person independently to regulate the structure of his needs is the main task in the tactic applied in improving the qualitative structure of value orientations in the Soviet people.

The development of sociological studies in this area will contribute to the creation of a scientific-information base for the formulation of specific recommendations on problems of shaping needs and value orientations, which are among the most important components of the socialist way of life.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The cognitive level expresses the conscious trend of activities in certain areas and objects of vital requirements; the emotional applies to the emotional-motivational orientation of the individual toward corresponding requirement objects; the behavioral indicates the existence of concepts of specific activities under corresponding situations.
2. The study was conducted within the framework of the all-union sociological study of the way of life of Soviet people on the basis of a program formulated by a group of sociologists of the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI, headed by I. T. Levykin.
3. Study conducted by the sociological laboratory of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Light Industry Institute of Light Industry and the Department of Sociological Research of Labor of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, in 1981 (headed by V. I. Paniotto and S. V. Matyash).

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ENGINEERING AND TECHNICAL WORKERS' ORIENTATION TOWARD JOB PROMOTION

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[Article by Ya. A. Davidovich and S. G. Klimova: "Engineering and Technical Workers' Orientation Toward Position Advancement." Yan Aleksandrovich Davidovich is a candidate of historical sciences and senior scientific associate at the Institute of Economic Problems of the Comprehensive Development of the National Economy in Moscow. He is a specialist in social problems of the utilization of manpower resources. He is the coauthor of several articles published in our journal (No 3, 1980; No 4, 1981; No 4, 1983). Svetlana Gavrilovna Klimova is a candidate of philosophical sciences and senior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences Scientific Research Institute of General and Pedagogical Psychology. She is a specialist in sociopsychological problems of management. She is the author of the article "Attitude of Urban Residents Toward Their Immediate Social Environment" published in our journal (No 3, 1979)]

[Text] Formulation of the problem. A working person promoted to a managerial position must meet a number of requirements concerning the level and nature of vocational training and have the necessary capabilities, skills and political, practical and ethical qualities. Furthermore, his orientation toward managerial activities plays an important role as well. Unfortunately, orienting working people toward one type of promotion or another is still insufficiently taken into consideration. Many enterprises are experiencing difficulties in choosing managers, on the one hand, while dissatisfaction with promotion opportunities remains, on the other.* Determining the inclination for organizational work is not mentioned at all in most methods used in assessing and selecting managers.

A study conducted at the First Moscow Time Mechanisms Plant imeni S. M. Kirov, made by associates of the IEP [Institute of Economic Problems] in Moscow in 1978-1980 concentrated on the study of the objective and subjective factors which determine the trend toward and intensiveness of mobility in the area of managerial work.

MChZ [Moscow Time Mechanisms Plant] No 1 is one of the leading enterprises in the sector. Here a number of steps have been taken to install progressive

* A number of studies have confirmed these trends. See (1) for example.

equipment, to ensure the mechanization and automation of production processes and to improve labor organization and conditions. The plant's technical retooling called for improving the collective's professional and skill structure. Difficult management problems (organizational, economic, socio-psychological) appeared as a result of the new developments, with which not all managers were able to deal. In a number of cases this was the reason for which managers resigned from the enterprise and for a negative attitude toward managerial activities on the part of a certain segment of engineering and technical workers. Managerial positions in some of the plant's subdivisions remained vacant for periods ranging from a few months to 2 years.

Procedure of the study. The researchers tried to obtain answers to the following questions: (1) Which groups of ITR [engineering and technical workers] are interested in managerial work and what are the dominant values in this area? (2) What is the potential effectiveness of including as cadre reserve promotion-oriented or nonoriented individuals? (3) What steps should be taken to optimize the establishment of a cadre reserve?

Engineering and technical workers account for 12.6 percent of the total number of industrial-production personnel at the first MChZ. Rank-and-file ITR at the enterprise number 670 people, 70 percent of whom are women; 38.1 percent of all ITR are employed in shops and the others in the various departments and research subdivisions.

A thorough survey was made of engineering-managerial cadres whose status had changed over the past 3 years; another study (15 percent quota selection) was made among rank-and-file ITR. The respondents (108 people) answered questionnaires at their work places in the presence of the interviewers. The survey included four blocs of questions: rating promotion opportunities at the plant; attitude toward such opportunities; prestige of managerial positions in the various subunits; and reasons for promotion refusals.

On the basis of the results of the survey the following typological RTR groups were singled out: (1) those who believe in the possibility of promotion at the enterprise and having a positive attitude toward this opportunity; (2) those lacking the requirements for job promotion but interested in it; (3) those lacking the possibility of becoming managers and having a negative attitude toward such an opportunity; (4) those who, in their view, have the possibility of promotion but have a negative attitude toward it.

The groups were singled out on the basis of two criteria: the subjective evaluation of the opportunities existing at the enterprise for job promotion and the orientation toward promotion. The respondents who were not interested in the possibility of promotion and had no desire to be managers were classified within a single group, for no substantial differences were found to exist between them.

Study of investigation results. A total of 32.5 percent of surveyed ITR do not believe promotion possible (Table 1). However, only two-thirds of them were oriented towards a business career. A clear orientation toward promotion was displayed by 45.4 percent of the respondents. However, only half of

them considered job promotion realistic. Men were more oriented toward promotion than women. More of the respondents believed that no promotion prospects existed compared to those who had a negative attitude toward it.

Table 1. Interconnection Between the Orientation of ITR Toward Job Promotion and Assessment of Real Promotion Opportunity, %

<u>Attitude Toward Job Promotion Possibilities</u>	<u>Assessment of Promotion Possibilities</u>						
	<u>Positive</u>			<u>Negative</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Average</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	
Ascribe no importance to promotion	8.4	8.8	8.0	37.9	26.6	49.3	46.3
Consider job promotion personally important	24.1	27.9	20.3	29.6	37.2	22.0	53.7
Total	32.5			67.5			100.0

Table 2. Comparison Between ITR Orientation Toward Keeping Their Job and Assessment of Possibilities of Further Promotion, %

<u>Potential Turnover</u>	<u>Assessment of Promotion Possibility and Attitude</u>			
	<u>Yes</u>		<u>No</u>	
	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
Wish to keep present job	82.4	77.7	53.0	68.4
Intend to change enterprises	15.7	22.2	45.0	13.1
No answer	1.9	0.1	2.0	18.5

The results of the study prove the stabilizing influence which promotion possibilities have on the turnover of ITR cadres regardless of the subjective attitude toward such prospects (see Table 2).

Compared to the other groups the number of respondents oriented toward changing enterprises was significantly higher among those with a positive attitude toward promotion possibilities but discarding it in terms of themselves (respectively 45, 15.7 and 22 percent). A certain gap exists between the orientation of ITR toward job promotion and assessment of their real opportunities. This leads to the inefficient utilization of the work of ITR oriented toward managerial activities, on the one hand, and the danger of appointing to managerial positions individuals with a negative attitude toward this work, on the other. Our conclusion is supported by data from other studies, which prove that a promotion is by far not always attractive to an individual and occasionally takes place on the insistence of the administration: the latter factor is second among the reasons for willingness to be promoted (1, p 134; 2, pp 201, 206). The reason is that a considerable share of ITR are oriented toward scientific research and engineering (3, pp 150-151). Let us point out that moral and psychological factors are occasionally ignored in personnel shifting (4, p 150; 5, pp 52-53).

The first group of ITR, those who recognize the possibility and importance of promotion for themselves, are the real future managers. The overwhelming majority in this group intend to continue working in their enterprise. Most of them are under 40 years of age (73.5 percent); 10 percent have secondary education, 43.3 percent have secondary specialized education, 10.5 percent are with unfinished higher and 36.2 percent with higher education; 63.2 percent have worked at the First MChZ more than 10 years; 52.6 percent of the respondents within this group would be willing to be transferred to other enterprise subunits which would offer greater promotion opportunities.

It would be expedient to practice a more energetic cadre policy toward engineers within this group (classification as management reserves, training, individual promotion planning, etc.). What makes this task even more relevant is the fact that 45 percent of the second group of respondents (oriented toward promotion but denying the possibility of same) intend to change enterprises. This is one more proof of the influence of the lack of promotion opportunities on cadre turnover.

In the second ITR group more people were under 30 years of age compared to the first (respectively 40 and 21 percent). Understandably, they have less seniority at the enterprise (50 percent have worked at the plant less than 10 years, compared to 36.8 percent in the first group). Differences in the level of training and place of work (shop or department) were insignificant.

ITR with objective possibilities of promotion but lacking, in their view, proper opportunities are oriented toward changing jobs. Seventy percent of the responders in this group were willing to transfer to another subdivision offering greater promotion opportunities. Most of them (55 percent) were department associates. This conflicts with the prevailing view to the effect that ITR in departments providing greater assurances in terms of satisfying professional interests and more attractive work did not aspire to change jobs within the shop even if potential opportunities for job promotion existed.

This circumstance draws attention to the hierarchy of prestige factors relative to managerial positions in general and the attractiveness of managerial work in the same or another shop for the respondents.

The respondents gave priority to the following among the factors determining the prestige of a managerial position: (1) involvement with the affairs of the enterprise and the possibility of influencing them; (2) reputation; (3) interesting job; (4) salary. They also singled out the level of production standards (degree of automation and mechanization, share of hard and harmful work in the shop, and labor rhythm and stress); importance of the work performed in the subdivision in terms of the successful activities of the entire plant; degree of technological and organizational autonomy and opportunity to apply professional knowledge and organizational talent. The latter factor was more attractive to those oriented toward promotion even in lagging subunits. The factor of "good moral and psychological climate in the collective" proved to be significant.

The study indicates that many promotion-oriented ITR meet the requirements of secondary and primary level managers. The respondents in this group listed

as attractive aspects of managerial duties related to enterprise activities. This leads to the assumption that they are guided above all by the interests of the work in their desire for job promotion.

The respondents named the specific subunits and explained the reasons for their choice. This proves that they relate a possible job transfer to specific production conditions. At the same time, the reasons for their choice indirectly characterize the hierarchy of ITR job values.

The third group was that of ITR who feel that they have no promotion opportunities nor aspire toward same. This includes a high percentage of older workers (50 percent of the respondents were over 40; they accounted for 26.3 percent in the first and 20 percent in the second group); 23.6 percent were university graduates (respectively 36.8 and 35 percent in the first two groups); 68.4 percent of the members of this group had no intention of going to another enterprise while 78.9 percent of the respondents answered in the negative to the question "Would you agree to assume the same position in another subdivision which would offer better promotion opportunities?"

Women in the older age groups, graduates of secondary or secondary specialized schools, working as technologists in shops, draftspersons, technicians and department engineers, predominated in said group. In their view, the positive features of managerial positions are high wages and authority. They explained their refusal for promotion by citing inadequate economic and technical knowledge and their own character, considered "unsuitable" for holding managerial jobs. Furthermore, they did not like the possibility of spending a large amount of time on official matters, possibly becoming overtired, assuming greater responsibilities and experiencing stress. Some of the respondents (10.5 percent) cited their unwillingness to face conflicts related to such positions. The potential effectiveness of promoting members of this group is low.

From the viewpoint of cadre work at the enterprise the fourth group was the most interesting: ITR with opportunities for promotion but unwilling to become managers. In our case they accounted for a small percentage (10.4 percent of those surveyed). However, it is precisely this group that the researchers considered in drawing the conclusion that a certain percentage of ITR are oriented not toward managerial but scientific research and design work and that it is precisely such personnel who are most frequently promoted to leading positions despite their unwillingness. This group included a larger percentage of men (44.4 percent). Most of them were in the older or middle-age groups, with substantial work practice at enterprises and graduates of higher or secondary specialized schools. Many of them (department associates primarily) explained their refusal to be promoted by citing their inclination to work independently. The shop ITR refer to the undesirability of conflicts related to a given position and mentioned their lack of sociopsychological knowledge needed by management. The absolute majority among them answered in the negative to the control question "Would you agree to transfer to another subdivision offering greater promotion opportunities?"

The main reason for refusal to be promoted by members of this group was their low assessment of their sociopsychological competence and their questioning

of the possibility of organizing the necessary contacts and their ability to settle conflicts and to interact with managers and subordinates. However, as the study of cadre work at the enterprise indicated, these are, as a rule, skilled personnel with great seniority; it is precisely they who are most frequently appointed foremen or shop chiefs or deputy chiefs. Frequently such transfers result in moral traumas and in a worsening of management quality. Such conflicts can be prevented by developing in the members of this group the sociopsychological skills for work with the personnel.

Our study indicates that one of the basic reasons for promotion refusals is the negative attitude of the respondents toward managerial working conditions: undefined rights and obligations, disparity between the real content of the work and the stipulations of official instructions, etc.

Conclusions. Establishing the orientation of ITR toward official promotions contributes to the more purposeful efforts to train a promotion reserve and may be one of its initial stages. Possibilities for self-realizing, which the enterprise could offer to the worker, allow the utilization of additional personality resources in upgrading labor productivity.

Differences in promotion orientations are based on the hierarchy of labor values developed in individuals. Knowledge of this hierarchy and typological differences will enable us purposefully to control individual orientations in the interest of advancing production processes.

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FIRST SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH OF THE PEASANTRY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 84
(signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 123-125

[Article by V. M. Bersenev: "'Pis'ma iz Derevni [Letters From the Countryside]--First Sociological Study of the Peasantry." Vasiliy Mikhaylovich Bersenev is a junior scientific associate at the Ural Zonal Department of the All-Russian Scientific Research Institute of Economics, Labor and Management in Agriculture. This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] A. N. Engel'gardt (1828-1893)¹ was among the first to pay attention to the sociological aspects of agricultural labor. His "Letters From the Countryside" (3) have not lost their scientific relevance to this day and no historian of Russian sociology can ignore this unique document of the times. The "Letters" belong to the period of development of sociological knowledge when a specific scientific-conceptual apparatus had not as yet been developed and material gathering and descriptive methods predominated in sociology. Engel'gardt's contribution to their development is that he was among the first to describe and practically apply the method of involved observation.

V. I. Lenin rated the method and the essays themselves quite highly: "If scientists rely on the materials of surveys--the advice and responses of a number of farmers who are quite frequently prejudiced and uninformed, who have not developed an integral view or considered their ideas, how can we fail to trust the observations gathered for an entire 11 years by a person with a remarkable power of observation and unquestionable sincerity, a person who had superbly studied his subject" (2).

This method is conceived by the author of the "Letters" himself as meaning the total involvement of the researcher in peasant life. "I wanted to know also the attitude of the muzhik toward his wife and children, the relationship between neighbors, the economic status of the muzhik and his religious and moral views or, in a word, everything" (3, p 224).

The scientist's own experience led him to the conclusion that man plays the leading role in agricultural production. "In terms of their significance," he writes, "the various factors in farming are in the following sequence: first comes the farmer, for the entire farming system depends on him and if the system is bad no machines could help, for animate work always takes precedence over inanimate work: the farm is not a factory where people are of secondary importance, where the lathe is more important than the person who

turns it on; in farming man comes first; he is followed by the horse, for with a back horse the plow becomes useless; then come machines and tools. However, neither machines nor purebred cattle nor workers could improve our farms. It is only the farmer who can accomplish this" (3, p 118).

This idea remains relevant to this day, for today as well we occasionally come across cases of exaggerating the role of material and underestimating human factors.

Therefore, a good farmer is the first condition for efficient agricultural production. Engel'gardt repeatedly addressed himself to this problem in his "Letters," and was among the first in Russia to single out personality traits which distinguish such a farmer. Main among them is a profound interest in farming. In his very first letter, Engel'gardt writes that "my entire interest and the entire interest of individuals I meet every day is focused on firewood, grain, cattle and manure" (3, p 19). The author lists as the next quality of the good farmer his "ability to look ahead." By this he means the ability to plan, anticipate and set targets. "With good planning one can work faster and results are better" (3, p 267). His words on the role of scientific knowledge and ability to take into consideration individual qualities and the practical knowledge of the working people have a very contemporary tone: "Scientific knowledge and the aspiration to achieve clarity in everything are important in structuring the entire farming system; knowledge of people is useful in recruiting assistants. The practical farming knowledge displayed by Ivan, Sidor and Avdota, of the 'oldsters,' are the second force" (3, p 120).

Having determined to take his farm out of its calamitous situation, Engel'gardt discovered a social force which the Marxist classics describe as "multiplied production force" (1, p 33). By himself the scientist reached the conclusion that productivity is not the simple total of the individual efforts of people who are members of one group or another or a cooperative: "Two people working together accomplish more than they would individually" (3, p 46).

The "Letters" provide a socioeconomic assessment of the means of organizing joint work which existed in agriculture at that time and consider conditions under which cooperative begins to yield results. The scientist notes that with so-called blanket work, the organization of joint labor, which is a form remaining from the serfdom period, does not take into consideration individual efforts and, consequently, leads to an equalization of wages which, Engel'gardt emphasizes, is totally unacceptable. Under such circumstances "everyone works on the level of the weakest member so that no one would accomplish more than the others" (3, p 183).

Cooperative (contractual) organization, the essential characteristic of which is hiring self-organized and controlled work groups (cooperatives) for specific types of work, increases labor productivity. Engel'gardt identifies the main features of such cooperation: it arises on the basis of reciprocal agreements and relatively equal professional-practical qualities and possibilities of the workers who have assumed one type of labor obligation or another.

The third form of organization of joint labor--the contractual cooperative with individual piece-rate payments--is described by the author as a farming cooperative and is also rated highly.

Engel'gardt's considerations of conditions and reasons for the appearance of the effect of increased labor productivity in a cooperative have retained their practical and theoretical value to this day. For example, it has been established that so-called orderless links are efficient if created on the basis of the voluntary agreement of all or most members, with equal professional-practical qualities and attitude toward the work, consisting of small groups (collectives of 5 to 13 members) and, finally, with the right independently to resolve problems related to the organization of labor and management within such a collective.

As a person with a broad outlook, Engel'gardt considered more than the purely economic advantages of joint labor. He noted that the cooperative develops socially useful moral qualities in the peasants: "I admit that I greatly love our farmers or, to put it better, our farmer cooperatives. I find in them something special, something noble, honest and sensible, something which they share only as members of farmer cooperatives. A person may be a swindler, a drunk, a criminal, a kulak or a rogue as an individual. As a cooperative farmer, he is honest, sober and conscientious as a member of the cooperative" (3, p 256).

Granting managerial functions to the members of a cooperative is an essential feature of the cooperative contracting method. As an opponent of interfering in the internal life of the peasantry, Engel'gardt is enthusiastically in favor of the group decision-making method. "Listening to disjointed and unrelated exclamations and endless disputes in which a word is repeated again and again, listening to the din of such a seemingly incoherent, shrieking crowd shouting figures or measurements, the impression may develop that it would get nowhere even in a century. However, if you wait for the end, you realize that the allocations made have been mathematically accurate in terms of size, quality of the soil, slant of the field and distance from the farmstead. Everything has been taken into consideration, the figures are accurate and, above all, everyone involved is convinced that the allocation or the account was accurate" (3, pp 218-219).

I believe that "Letters From the Countryside," which is most frequently considered by modern researchers as pertaining to literature, the history of Russian journalism or the theory of the press, deserve a very attentive sociological study. In other words, all the necessary reasons exist to consider Engel'gardt's work as part of our scientific heritage.

Engel'gardt was deeply concerned with the future of the Russian countryside, for which reason he focuses his thoughts on the problem of the most optimal socioeconomic form of farming under Russian conditions (3, p 71). The scientist's conclusion is unequivocal: "Having studied landed estates and peasant farms," I reached the conviction that our first and most important problem is that of the cooperative farm. Anyone who loves Russia and who

cares for its development, power and strength must work in that direction. This conviction of mine has increased and strengthened here, in the countryside" (3, p 288).

It is precisely cooperative farming which is expedient, Engel'gardt believes, from all points of view. From the economic viewpoint cooperative labor is more productive. On the social level it allows the peasant to avoid bankruptcy and is a solution to his calamitous situation, for anyone can find work in a cooperative: people who are unable to engage in independent farming will be performing their assigned jobs.

Naturally, under the conditions of post-reform Russia the striving for cooperative farming was somewhat romantic. However, all of Engel'gardt's thoughts about a cooperative as the voluntary unification of people for joint labor are consistent with our contemporary ideas.

The attentive sociologist who reads "Letters From the Countryside" will find in it not only the embryos of still-relevant ideas and means of penetrating into the essence of social problems. The successful method for obtaining sociological data found by Engel'gardt will be of great interest as well. This is one of the first sociographic essays and a characteristic synthesis of social science, publicism and literary and scientific creativity.

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FOOTNOTE

1. In his youth Aleksandr Nikolayevich Engel'gardt was an artillery officer. He resigned his commission in 1866 and worked in chemistry. He taught chemistry at the Petersburg Agricultural Institute (1866-1870). He edited the first Russian CHEMICAL JOURNAL (1859-1861). He wrote outstanding works on chemistry for which he was awarded the degree of doctor of chemistry by Kharkov University. In 1871 Engel'gard was removed from teaching and sent to his estate in Batishchevo, Dorogobuzhskiy Uyezd, Smolensk Guberniya "for instilling immorality and democratic ideas in his pupils." It was there that he began to farm. His first "Letters From the Countryside" were published in OTECHESTVENNYYE ZAPISKI (from 1872 to 1882).--The editor.

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CALENDAR REFORM QUESTIONED

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[Article by M. S. Nits and S. G. Pyatin: "Is a Calendar Reform Possible?"
Mariya Sergeyevna Nits is head of the scientific-methodical laboratory of the USSR Ministry of Fish Industry All-Union Institute for Upgrading Management Personnel Skills. Sergey Grigor'yevich Pyatin is a design engineer. This is their first article in this journal]

[Text] The calendar is a schedule related, one way or another, to all human activities. As we know, it is based on labor. The calendar's structure, therefore, should contribute mainly to the rational organization of labor and facilitate time accounting and estimates. The top requirement of a calendar is its simplicity and logic.

The Gregorian calendar, which is used today in most countries throughout the world, as the corrected edition of its predecessor--the Julian calendar--comes from Babylonian, Egyptian and other ancient calendars. The latter were made and repeatedly corrected under the influence of various factors, most of which are no longer of any significance. For example, the need to use the moon as a "celestial clock" or to be guided by the decision of the Roman Senate, which gave the names of July and August to two summer months in honor of Julius Caesar and the Emperor Augustus, extending them at the expense of February, have long become unnecessary (1).

The current calendar suffers from a number of serious structure shortcomings, such as the uneven number of semesters (181 and 184 days respectively) and quarters (90, 91 and two 92-day periods), inconsistency in the alternation of months of different lengths and the inconvenience of a 7-day week which neither fits entirely within a month or a year and which seriously hinders planning and computations.

The changes we are suggesting in the calendar are aimed at reorganizing the labor system and gaining additional leisure time resources without changing the overall length of work within the year. The calendar we suggest will be based on a 6-day week, as shown in Table 1.

The names of the days of the week have been retained with the exception of Tuesday. The year will consist of 12 months, each one of which will include five 6-day weeks plus a 61st non-calendar week. In this manner all months will have 30 days and there will 365 days a year (366 during leap year). The

Table 1. Calendar Structure

Day of the Week	Weeks in the Month, No.					Extra Calendar 61st Week
	I	I	III	IV	V	
Monday	1	7	13	19	25	1
Wednesday	2	8	14	20	26	2
Thursday	3	9	15	21	27	3
Friday	4	10	16	22	28	4
Saturday	5	11	17	23	29	5
Sunday	6	12	18	24	30	6*

* Leap year only

Table 2. Length of Working Time*

Working Time Measurement Units	Per Day		Per Week		Per Year	
	I	II	I	II	I	II
Sunday	--	--	--	--	52	60
Day	--	--	5	4	255	240
Hours	8.2	8.75	41	35	2091	2100

* I--current calendar; II--suggested calendar

beginning of every month will fall on the same day of the week. This will significantly simplify the planning process in the various sectors of social activities.

Let us now consider the labor regimen. With an 8-hour work day annual working time losses amount to 6 percent. In order to maintain the volume of output on its previous level the number of jobs will have to be increased by that same percentage. It seems more acceptable to our country to retain unchanged the annual length of work. In that case, with two free days a week, the work day will last 8.75 hours (Table 2). The noncalendar 61st week will be free. On the eve of holidays falling between the first and fourth days of the week Saturdays will be workdays.

What are the advantages of such updating of the calendar system? As a result of the reduced annual number of enterprise work days by 15 (6 percent), eight of which (nine during leap year) will fall during the cold time of the season when the day is short. This will lower energy outlays and expenditures for amenities for the working people. Additional time will thus be provided for preventive and repair operations.

While the overall annual duration of labor activities will remain unchanged so will the leisure time of the workers (strictly speaking, it will even increase by 1.2 percent by reducing the amount of time spent in commuting and the lunch break. This will be the result of the reduced number of work days per year). Furthermore, its structure will be changed substantially (Tables 3 and 4).

Table 3. Annual Breakdown of Working and Nonworking Days

<u>Time Outlays</u>	<u>Current</u>	<u>Suggested</u>	<u>Changes</u>
Working days	240	225	Reduced by 15 days (6.2%)
Free days, holidays	110	124	14-day increase (12.9%)
Regular leave	15	16	Increase of 6.7%
Total	365	365	

Table 4. Annual Breakdown of Leisure Time in Hours*

<u>Leisure Time Outlays</u>	<u>Current**</u>	<u>Suggested**</u>	<u>Changes, %</u>
Long leisure time	206.7 (7.8%)	275.6 (10.4%)	+33.3
Including:			
Regular leave	206.7 (7.8%)	220.5 (8.3%)	+ 6.7
Free week		55.1 (2.1%)	+ 100
Free days	1,515.8 (57.9%)	1,653.6 (62.4%)	+ 9.1
Total nonworking days	1,722.5 (65.7%)	1,929.2 (72.8%)	+12.0
Leisure time in working days	900.0 (34.3%)	72.0 (27.2%)	-20.0
Total leisure time per year	2,622.5 (100%)	2,649.2 (100%)	+ 1.2

* Computation made for men applied in industrial production. Based on data on the current amount of leisure time as cited in V. D. Patrushev's article (2). Leisure time indicates that part of the day which remains at the disposal of a person after sleeping and eating and taking care of himself and his housing or work in public production, commuting and lunch break (3).

** The share of leisure time in the total annual budget indicated in brackets.

As we can see, the long rest of the working people would increase by one-third and will total 12.4 percent of the daily leisure time. Adding to it related free days, it will reach 40.7 percent, i.e., 16.1 percent of the total annual leisure time. The lengthy rest includes the winter holiday and the regular leave, which will be extended by 14 percent, including the free days. Such leisure time offers an advantage compared to leisure time at the end of the week, for it creates better opportunities for the restoration of physical strength, active recreation, work at home and in the private plot, educating the children and self-education.

The increased number of weekends will also contribute to a better rest. The weekly psychophysical load of the working people will be reduced by approximately 22 percent without any changes in the leisure time. Whereas currently

a 60-hour leisure time period comes after 108 hours of work, under the conditions of the suggested calendar it will come each 84-85 hours. We can naturally assume that with such a system physical, intellectual and emotional forces will be regained faster.

The negative feature of such a new system would be the loss of 30-35 minutes of leisure time during weekdays. This could be partially compensated by developing the public transportation and consumer service systems.

Naturally, the calendar reform will affect not only the regimen of work and recreation but literally all realms of social life. Let us mention some likely social consequences. Since the amount of the long rest will be increased by 40 percent and the number of weekends by 5 percent, the parents will have more time to be with and raise their children. Incidentally, school hours easily fit within this calendar both for the 210- and 180-day training program. The increased number of free days will offer additional opportunities for the self-advancement of every person and the fuller utilization of the existing sociocultural potential and its further growth. Changes in the recreation structure will create prerequisites for lowering working people morbidity. Consequently, the load of the health care system will be relieved.

The problem of the social changes based on a reorganization of the labor regimen require a special study. Let us merely point out that such a reorganization would require no significant capital investments. Clearly, the main difficulties will be related to changes in documentations and day-to-day planning and management terms. Naturally, extensive explanatory work will have to be conducted among the population to surmount the concept existing within the social consciousness on the rhythm of life. However, past experience proves that the introduction of a new calendar which may meet the vital needs of society is attainable.

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POSSIBILITIES OF OPEN AND CLOSED QUESTIONS

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[Article by O. M. Maslova: "Cognitive Possibilities of Open and Closed Questions." Ol'ga Mikhaylovna Maslova is a candidate of philosophical sciences and senior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences ISI demographic department. She is one of the authors of the collective monographs "Standartizatsiya Pokazateley v Sotsiologicheskoye Issledovanii" [Standardization of Indicators in Sociological Research] (1981); "Sovetskaya Sotsiologiya" [Soviet Sociology] (1982); "Rabochaya Kniga Sotsiologa" [The Sociologist's Work Book] (1983) and others. She is the author of the following articles published in our journal: "Sociological Studies of the Reading Public in the 1920s-1930s" (No 4, 1977), "On Planning Sociological Surveys" (No 1, 1981) and "On the Study of Exhibition Activities" (co-authored, No 4, 1983)]

[Text] A rather complex interaction takes place in the course of the formulation and use of questionnaires for the various types of social consciousness: scientific, theoretical and practical, daily.¹ The structure and content of this interaction remain as yet understudied in terms of the method of sociological surveys. However, the few attempts made at analyzing it confirm the existence of a direct connection between this problem and the quality of sociological information and the limits of its adequate interpretation. It turns out, in particular, that in a number of cases the sociologist addresses himself to the practical ordinary consciousness in the search of forms of knowledge which are extraneous to the nature of the latter. He may try to find on the level of the ordinary consciousness certain conceptual ideas on the subject of the survey (such as the concept of life), developed by analogy with the principles of scientific knowledge, whereas the specifics of knowledge on the level of daily activities are that they are inseparably related to a limited range of specific life situations and their results are shaped not as concepts but as "prescriptions," advice and judgments which ensure decisionmaking in recurring life situations (6-7). In this case the cognitive task formulated by the sociologist, not taking into account the specific nature of an ordinary consciousness, yields inadequate information.

Therefore, the cognitive possibilities of a survey substantially depend on the extent to which it establishes suitable contacts with the scientific and practical awareness during the investigation. This is one of the most important conditions in planning the survey method, which becomes apparent in the

sum total of requirements governing the structuring of questionnaires. A considerable percentage of such requirements are formulated as a summation of empirically established and recurring observations by sociologists of the reactions of the respondents to the different formulations of the questions. The majority of methodical rules, however, may be traced precisely to differences among said types of social consciousness and are nothing other than rules for a proper transition from one type to another. Thus, for example, requirements governing the meaning, style and vocabulary characteristics of questions are determined by disparities between scientific and ordinary terminology. These forms of consciousness are distinguished also by the broad scope of social realities and the depth of penetration within the nature of phenomena. Hence the requirement of taking into consideration the level of competence and information of the respondents in the area of the subject. Such correlations may be detected also in the consideration of other requirements relative to the method of investigation.

The choice of the form of the question leads to the creation of substantially different conditions for interaction between the initial theoretical concepts of the researcher and the practical, the ordinary consciousness of the respondents. However, in our view this basic concept is insufficiently taken into consideration in assessing the cognitive possibilities of the open and closed formulation of questions.

Aids on the method and techniques of sociological studies cite two groups of criteria in assessing the merits and shortcomings of closed and open questions. The first group includes organizational, economic and technical criteria in which the advantages of closed questions seem obvious on a common sense level, requiring neither experimental control nor any particular proof. Indeed, the coding of questions in the course of the investigation, the speed of their machine processing, the lower share of no answers and the simpler technique of filling blank spaces are quite significant to the sociologist limited by his planned deadlines, personnel and financial resources, etc. It is no accident that the authors of most method aids are unanimously in favor of closed questions.

The second group of criteria is related to assessing the possible influence of the form of the question on the quality of the obtained information. This is a more complex matter compared to the previous case, for assessing each of the criteria requires experimental research and substantiation. For example, in order to obtain information on criteria such as the consistency between the formulation of the question and the variants of the answers based on the thesaurus and structure of the intelligence of the respondents a detailed study must be made. Questions which are to be "closed" must be issued in an open form. This is a minimal requirement in resolving such a methodical problem. In order to ensure the more profound substantiation of the question based on such criteria special sociolinguistic and sociological experiments must be conducted. In a similar way the quality of questions is tested based on criteria such as the consistency between the question and the level of competence of those questioned, their memory possibilities, reputation concepts, etc.²

The need for such a stage in the work is mentioned both by research sociologists and authors of method aids. In reality, however, things are not all that smooth. Let us cite the views of several method sociologists, which could be considered as expert evaluations of the contemporary situation in research. "In practice the technical advantages of closed questions are used above all, ignoring the above-mentioned limitations (the need to collect methodical information to substantiate formulations--the author)" (10). "Although in the course of the study it is usually recommended to begin with open questions and subsequently, on the basis of the answers to formulate alternate closed questions, such a desirable situation is rarely achieved in sociological research practice" (11, p 145). The study of domestic publications proves that the experimental substantiation of methodical solutions has not as yet drawn the necessary attention of our sociologists (12-14).

Therefore, if we speak of the criteria which guide the sociologist in selecting a form of question, we should remember that most frequently hiding behind the high popularity of closed questions are the criteria of economy and organizational simplicity, based on common sense. Criteria related to information quality are taken into consideration only in terms of expert opinions based on previous experience and the creative intuition of the researcher. However, could common sense and intuition without experimental testing and substantiation always be considered reliable advisers?

For example, the universally acknowledged economical nature of closed questions becomes significantly more modest if preliminary research is done strictly in accordance with methodical principles. Unfortunately, the cost of a sociological study, not to mention that of its individual stages, is not considered or studied in domestic sociology. That is possibly why the prevalent opinion is that a sample study and, therefore, methodical information require no major outlays, for most frequently pilot studies involve small groups of sociologists and do not involve additional manpower. This, however, leaves unanswered the question of the extent to which the methodical results of such sample studies are representative in terms of the selective totality of the main research project.

This problem is particularly important in the study of the perception and understanding of open and closed questions by the different sociodemographic groups of respondents. Small samples provide no more than partial answers which must be expanded through the methodical study of the results of the basic project (including no answers, unknowledgeable answers, irrelevant answers, etc.). The cost of such work as well must be taken into consideration in substantiating the quality of the survey method.

Therefore, the rating of the economical nature of closed questions will be the higher the lower the level of requirements concerning their methodical substantiation is. Consequently, we should consider as the most economical the "office variant" of the closed type of question, based on a random selection without approval. It is precisely this paradoxical situation, which researchers do not realize, that is the base of the current popularity of closed questions.

As to the quality of data, method publications are far less in agreement when it comes to the "pluses" and "minuses" of open and closed questions. The view is popular that the main trend in the development of the survey method involves closed questions. Properly used, it includes the possibility of open questions (or at least be no worse).

Open questions are assigned a primarily auxiliary role at the stage of the experimental substantiation of the method (15; 11, p 155). The cognitive possibilities offered by open questions in mass surveys are assessed quite modestly. E. Shoykh, for example, writes that "the use of open questions has been a subject of major discussions. The usefulness of such discussions was that it eliminated obviously wrong ideas as to the shortcomings of closed questions. In particular, the prejudice of the researchers of the possibility of obtaining unexpected opinions or a fuller and more detailed picture with the help of open questions was refuted" (10, p 83).

The cognitive possibilities of closed formulations of questions are sharply criticized by supporters of the phenomenological trend: "The methods used by the positivists in gathering data are such as not to leave the respondent any possibility of reacting other than listing and recording of which is offered by such methods. Furthermore, the practice of coding data leads to the fact that undetermined reactions are interpreted in terms of the interpretation systems used by the sociologist and thus made to fit said system" (16, p 67). "The research tools are not used in the least to find and describe what 'already is.' On the contrary, they create the very same order for determining the procedure according to which, in the common view, they were created" (16, p 180). Without analyzing the methodical premises of this criticism, we must admit that the methodical possibilities of such an influence are indicated by their authors quite accurately. In our view, the problem of influencing the quality of sociological information through the form taken by the question is at its initial stage of experimental studies. We are clearly short of empirical data for deriving final and categorical conclusions. The few publications of results of methodical experiments confirm that the influence of the form of the question on the quality of information may be assessed differently depending on the target and the cognitive purpose of the question.

Let us consider materials of methodical experiments conducted with the participation of this author in studies made by problem subunits of the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI. 1) A study of the PRAVDA readership was conducted by the public opinion sector in 1976; the selective total included 10,000 units, representative of the RSFSR population classified by basic sociodemographic characteristics. 2) The sample study "Condition and Basic Development Trends in the Soviet Way of Life" (1979) covered 1,000 units representative of the population in Orel Oblast, based on the same characteristics. The experiment with open and closed questions involved the selection of 280 units, randomly distributed in the main selection. 3) A sample study of the reproduction concepts of married couples in urban families was conducted in 1982 by the demographic department in a Moscow rayon. It included 155 families, i.e., 310 questionnaires answered by husbands and wives.

In the first two studies, in order to obtain comparative data the lottery method was used; one-half of the respondents were asked to answer open and

the second half closed questions. In the survey the two variants were mechanically alternated, i.e., the interviewer asked the questions of the second variant every second respondent. The sum total of the respondents were divided into two groups which were then compared in terms of sociodemographic characteristics. In the study of both compared groups no statistically significant disparities were found. In other words, the influence of sociodemographic differences may be considered as eliminated.³ In the third study open questions preceded closed questions. The purpose of the former was to determine independently formulated views while the purpose of the second was to establish the degree of his agreement with various views expressed on the same subject.

Let us consider the results of the experiment the task of which was to check the familiar concept that the more the structure of the concepts of the respondents coincides with the system suggested by the sociologist in formulating a closed question, the more similar will be the results obtained with the help of the two varieties of questions. In the study of the way of life in both the open and closed variants the question was asked of what television programs the respondent usually tried not to miss: the closed variant included a list of 25 programs. The population's level of information on television programs could be classified in advance as among the highest, considering the extensive availability of television sets and the popularity of watching television (18). All possible variants of answers as to preferred programs were limited both for the sociologist and the respondent within the television programs. It may have seemed that under such circumstances one could expect a greater similarity of results obtained through open and closed questions. In reality, however, there was no coincidence in the breakdown of answers (Table 1).

Television Program	Closed Question (n = 120 people)			Open Question (n = 153 people)		
	Absolute No. of Answers	%. %	Trans- mission Sequence	Absolute No. of Answers	%. %	Trans- mission Sequence
Fiction films	116	96.6	1	121	79.1	1
"Time" program	93	77.5	2	110	71.9	2
"Travelers' Club"	90	75.0	3	51	33.3	5
Entertainment concerts	85	70.8	4	78	50.9	3
"In the Animal World"	84	70.0	5	52	33.9	4
"Today in the World"	66	55.0	6	40	26.1	7-8
Sports programs	63	52.5	7	44	28.7	6
"Movie Panorama"	59	49.2	8	20	13.1	11
"Health" and "Mother's School"	57	47.5	9	40	26.1	7-8
Cartoons	53	44.2	10	26	16.9	9
"I Serve the Soviet Union"	51	42.5	11	23	15.0	10
Filmed shows	50	41.6	12	17	11.1	12

On the basis of these data let us try to answer the following questions: What type of cognitive tasks do both variants offer identical information and are, consequently, interchangeable? If the information obtained with the help of

ifferent methods does not coincide does this mean that one of them is of better quality? Does either variant provide information which cannot be obtained with the help of the other variant?

The frequency of the individual program mentioned by the respondents was an indicator of the size of its potential audience on the level of the public's preferences. Table 1 shows that it sufficed for the sociologist to formulate the question in a closed form to obtain an increased potential audience for the individual programs ranging from 6 percent to a factor of 4 (we did not take into consideration another 11 television programs which were not included in the table, for in the use of the open question they did not garner even a single percent of the vote, whereas in the closed formulation they obtained from 3 to 30 percent of the vote). Consequently, in defining the size of the potential audience for the individual programs the open and closed formulations of questions are not interchangeable, for the resulting answers were quite different.

Let us compare the sequence of programs by the frequency with which they were mentioned. In this case the cognitive task of the question is to single out the television program enjoying maximal, average or minimal popularity. Table 1 shows that both formulations divide the sum total of programs into two uneven parts. We noted stable and small extreme groups: the most popular and the most unpopular as well as an unstable center which accounted for the majority of the list.

Therefore, in rating television programs by popularity the open and closed questions become interchangeable only in terms of the final rating position.⁴

Let us consider the third possible cognitive task of the question: obtaining information on the number of programs named by the individual respondent, which could be used as an indicator of widespread viewer preferences and their variety (2).

Table 2. Number of Television Programs Listed by Respondent
Depending on the Form of the Question, % of Respondents

No. of Listed Programs	Closed Question		Open Question	
	Absolute No. of Answers	Percentage of Respondents	Absolute No. of Answers	Percentage of Respondents
From 1st to 3rd	11	9	47	31
From 4th to 6th	18	15	64	42
From 7th to 13th	67	56	42	27
From 14th to 22nd	24	20	--	--
Total	120	100	153	100

Once again we find substantially different results between the two forms of questions. With an open question two-thirds of the answers are at the beginning of the scale, its first two positions, whereas with the closed question the same number of answers have shifted to the end of the scale, its

two final positions. Therefore, in terms of obtaining information as to the number of preferred programs the open and closed questions cannot be considered interchangeable and equal.

It is a logical assumption that the closed and open questions are measuring instruments offering different cognitive possibilities. Each variant provides the sociologist with information on the different level of reflection of viewers' preferences and behavior.

The open question "operates" on the level of an updated awareness, related to the stocks of information stored in the long-term memory of the respondent, "reinforced" more frequently than others by the systematic repetition of a given type of activity (in this case looking at a certain total of programs) (20). The open question establishes the more profound and lasting interest in the program, on the basis of which it is better recalled and identified.

Indicators relative to no answers to open questions become particularly valuable. In the publication of results, data on the number of respondents who have failed to answer and their sociodemographic characteristics are not considered as a rule, for they lack a direct and clear connection with the essential tasks of the study. However, they are extremely necessary in assessing the views of the respondents and the methodical quality of the questions. The number of no answers informs the sociologist of the stage of development of public opinion on the matter under study and the type of social strata or groups in which such development is still incomplete due to the lack of an information base or other factors. The open question is an important tool in obtaining such information. Naturally, some additional methodical means must be used in differentiating among those who have failed to answer (lack of knowledge, lack of understanding of the question, etc.). Neglecting such information and using closed questions for the sake of reducing the number of no answers would replace the still-undeveloped public opinion with elaborations which have developed in social groups most familiar with the topic of the investigation.

The example of the study of viewers' preferences is one of the simplest situations which arise in selecting the form of the question. In considering behavioral motives, life values, opinions and assessments, the choice of the form of the question reflects to a considerably greater extent the influence of the initial views of the sociologist on the content of the obtained information. Thus, in a study of the way of life of respondents who intend to change their place of residence over the next 10 years the following question (open and closed) about the reasons for moving was asked: "What are the living conditions you would like to improve in moving?" Only five of the 12 reasons suggested by the investigators in the a priori variant of the closed question were found unchanged in the final text. In answers to the open variant of the question the respondents named 14 additional reasons for moving, six of which were essentially new while eight were more in the nature of a supplement. Therefore, the testing of the a priori list of reasons with the help of the open variant increased said list by one-third and the description of the reasons was substantially richer.

The closed formulation contained at the end of the list of reasons the traditional choice "other answers." This possibility, however, was not used by the respondents. As is always the case in such cases, the "semiclosed" formulation does not compensate for the shortcomings of the a priori listing of answers. The respondents tried to "adapt" to the method. This is yet another argument in favor of the hypothesis to the effect that the open and closed variants of the questions served to solve different cognitive problems. The respondent intuitively feels this difference in facing the logical problem he must resolve. In the closed formulation, the respondent ties his reaction to the description of realities as suggested by the sociologist, whereas in the open question he describes this reality himself.

The correlation between realities created by the sociologist for the responder and by the responder for the sociologist is reflected in the data obtained with the help of open and closed questions.

Table 3. Breakdown of Answers as to Reasons for Subscribing to a Newspaper, Based on the Form of the Question (percentage of respondents)

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Formulation of the Question</u>	
	<u>Closed</u>	<u>Open</u>
Scope, completeness, depth, timeliness and truthfulness of information	65.0	34.0
Party life coverage	19.3	1.8
Subscription to PRAVDA is the duty of every party member	38.0	14.2
Required because of the nature of the work	16.3	6.6
Published 7 days a week	15.3	1.5
Persuaded at work of the need to subscribe	3.7	1.6
Subscription to PRAVDA based on old family tradition	16.6	1.7
Other reasons	5.6	25.2
No answer	7.0	13.4

In the study of the reasons for subscribing to PRAVDA the list of possible answers in the closed question was sampled in advance with 100 individuals belonging to different sociodemographic groups. Nevertheless, in the main study both the closed and open variants were used. The comparison between results (Table 3) indicates that 25 percent of the answers formulated independently by the respondents do not fall within the scheme offered in the closed question. This means that the testing of the closed question with a small sampling of individuals yielded nonrepresentative results in terms of the selective totality of the main study. Only 17 percent of all answers to the open question totally coincided with the variants of answers contained in the closed question, while 48 percent coincided partially and 34 percent did not coincide at all. The respondents did not only name additional reasons for subscribing, not included in the closed formulation of the question, but also used in their assessment of newspaper information a more detailed set of

criteria compared with the first variant of answers as shown in Table 3. For example, the criterion of "truthfulness" was expanded with concepts such as reliability, accuracy and objectiveness while the criterion of "efficiency" was described as pertinence, novelty, relevance, timeliness and quickness of answers. As a result, the structure of the reasons with the open formulation showed an entire wealth of meanings. The respondents named additional criteria in rating the newspaper within their motivational structure. For example, "the style of the newspaper is clear, understandable, specific, popular and accessible." "It is a central newspaper, main, serious, fundamental, basic and authoritative."

Table 4. Breakdown of Opinions on Consequences of Single-Child Families, Based on the Form of the Question (percentage of respondents (n = 310 people))

<u>View</u>	<u>Closed Question</u>		<u>Open Question</u>
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Hard to Say</u>	
Size of the population will decline	90	7	31
People will become more isolated without brothers and sisters	77	12	3
Single child in family will be selfish	77	13	11
Labor resource problems will develop	74	12	13
Elderly will outnumber young people	70	21	7
Families will become unstable	46	24	7
Opportunities for better leisure time will improve	37	22	--
Relations among friends will strengthen, for friends will replace relatives	27	27	--
Spouses will pay greater attention to each other	27	27	--
Prosperity of population will improve	18	25	--
Children will become better educated and comprehensively developed	17	19	--
Population supplies with food products and industrial goods will improve	15	23	--
Children's educational opportunities will improve	20	18	--
Other opinions	--	--	39
Open question not answered	--	--	13

The description of the reality created by the respondent for the sociologist may prove to be more varied or simply different compared to the system presented in advance by the sociologist to the respondent. In the study of reproduction concepts of married couples one of the open questions was that of the consequences of small families: "Imagine that for a number of generations each family will have only one child. What consequences would this have for society at large and for the family?" This was followed by a closed question with a set of views on the same topic: "Do you agree with the following views relative to the consequences of an increased number of single-

child families?" It included a list of 13 views for each one of which the respondent had to answer "agree," "disagree" or "hard to say." Noteworthy in comparing the results obtained with the help of the different formulations of the questions (Table 4), is the fact that the number of respondents sharing the same opinions is drastically different depending on the form of the question. This difference is far stronger than in determining audience preferences of television programs (Table 1). Consequently, the more the initial concepts of the sociologist fail to coincide with the sum total of possible answers by the respondents, the more dependent on the form of the question the information becomes. Of the 13 views suggested by the sociologists seven were not mentioned at all by the respondents in answering the open question. As to the sum total of answers independently formulated by the respondents, although partially coinciding with the a priori set offered by the sociologist, it reflects a different structure of views on the consequences of having single-child families. Let us note above all, as was the case with Table 1, that the most popular views coincide in terms of gradation. Whatever the formulation, the leading positions are held by the same views. However, a considerably greater number of respondents agree with the opinions suggested by the sociologist compared to respondents with independent views. Consequently, at the beginning of the survey the awareness of the respondents is considerably less structured than after becoming familiar with the content of the closed question. This is also confirmed by the average number of views expressed by each respondent in answering closed and open questions (6.3 and 1.7 respectively).

Views obtained with the help of open questions, supplementing the a priori enumeration are of particular interest. Most of them reflect general non-differentiated views on the negative consequences of one-child families. Nine percent of the respondents expressed views such as "it will be bad," "nothing good will come of it" or other similar answers. Additional aspects were singled out, such as the selfishness of the parents concerning children (by limiting themselves to a single child the parents are concerned only with their personal convenience rather than with the future of the child), a possible worsening of the moral-psychological climate in society as a whole and the spreading of rudeness, callousness and pettiness in relations among people. Also listed were possible consequences such as "degradation of society" (6 percent); "adverse conditions for the continuation of the race" (6 percent); "withering away of the population" (5 percent); "reduced population increase and demographic crisis" (3 percent); and "economic crisis" (3 percent). Another 3 percent of the respondents believe that a single child would have no significant consequences whatsoever, whereas 2 percent consider this phenomenon positive.

The study of the answers to the open question indicates that the sum total of respondents show a low level of information as to the possible consequences of one-child families and that their views on this problem are poorly structured and include a significant percentage of generalized emotional-value concepts. At the same time, the study of answers to the closed question shows the percentage of respondents who lean on the listed views, those expressing a negative attitude and the percentage of respondents holding a neutral position. However, this is merely a reaction on the part of the respondents to suggested opinions and does not in itself express their own

view. This is quite convincingly confirmed by comparing the answers to the open and closed variants of the questions. A correction in the list of possible answer to the closed question would not change the situation. A longer list of possible answers addressed to the short-term memory of the respondent will reveal an equally short situational reaction by the latter. This reaction, however, is not the firm view of the respondent and expresses his views even less so.

We can conclude from these examples that the cognitive possibilities offered by open and closed problems are significantly more differentiated than one may have thought. They are interchangeable in the case of questions with dichotomous answers, universally used rating scales (3- and 5-point) and some other questions which presume noticeably identical structures of concepts relative to the multiplicity of possible answers by the sociologist and the respondent. Conversely, the greater the disparity between a priori concepts of the essence of the question, the greater the influence which the sociologist could have with the help of a closed question on the results of the study become, replacing them with his own present system, thus violating the specific content and structure of practical ordinary awareness. In the study of the structuring of the concepts of the respondents and their verbal answers the open question is the only possible research tool.

In our view, the use of empirical data in scientific studies must be mandatorily accompanied by indications of the form of the questions which led to them. Without this any interpretation of the results of a survey becomes quite problematical.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The theoretical analysis of the correlation between these types of consciousness may be found in works (1-5).
2. The list of quality criteria included 12-14 items (8-9) on the consistency between the question of the sociopsychological and linguistic possibilities alone of the respondents.
3. Data on the PRAVDA leadership published in (17).
4. Similar results were obtained in the experiment with "cafeteria" questions as to preferences expressed by PRAVDA readers on the subject of the individual sections of the newspaper (19).

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PROCESSING AND STORAGE OF SOCIOLOGICAL DATA

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[Article by V. G. Britvin, V. F. Sklyarov and I. K. Tereshkin: "Sociological Information in Enterprise ASU [Automated Control System]: Processing and Storage Methods." Viktor Grigor'yevich Britvin is candidate of philosophical sciences, head of sector at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research and specialist in the area of social management. He is a permanent contributor to our journal (Nos 2 and 4, 1979; No 2, 1981; No 2, 1982). Vladimir Fedorovich Sklyarov is candidate of economic sciences, specialist in program support of ideological research. He is the author of several articles published in our journal (Nos 2 and 4, 1979; No 2, 1981, No 2, 1982). Igor' Konstantinovich Tereshkin is scientific associate, chair of production economics and organization, Volgograd Polytechnical Institute. Author of articles on data processing technology. This is his first publication in our journal]

[Text] The data collection systems and automated control systems (ASU) developed on the basis of modern computers offer new opportunities for upgrading social planning efficiency. As a rule, however, the standard "ASU-Cadre" subsystem does not include sociological and sociopsychological data. Such data can be obtained as a result of special studies (1). Therefore, in processing data which "service" the management of social processes, the problem arises of combining traditional information on cadres with data arrays gathered with the help of sociological documents. Furthermore, more suitable means of organizing data storage and processing are needed.

Combining data arrays. The ASU-Cadre subsystem problems are traditionally oriented above all toward obtaining information on major problems such as: (1) cadre composition, dynamics and turnover, labor discipline and drafting statistical accounts; (2) forecasting manpower requirements and its study and computation of its balance (2, pp 17, 58).

The sociological information subsystem, which closely interacts with the ASU-Cadre subsystem, must provide a solution to the set of problems related to optimizing the content and conditions of labor, protecting the workers' health, etc. Furthermore, its functions include procuring data which characterize the conditions of ideological work, the development of socialist democracy and strengthening intracollective relations. The data stored in the subsystem include objective characteristics of the workers (sex, age,

education, profession, length of service, etc.) as well as some subjective indicators and behavioral characteristics. Since the tasks of both subsystems cross, it would be expedient to combine some data and include them in a centralized bank. This would reduce duplicating information to a minimum and accelerate the information study process.

The procedure for combining data arrays stored in said subsystems is frequently based on a code which is entered in the worker's personal file in the personnel departments of enterprises and in corresponding sociological documents of surveys. Although this method is convenient in data processing, it does not entirely satisfy research methodical requirements.

The characteristic of the suggested method is the fact that the combination of information contained in the worker's file with survey data takes place by singling out a certain number of similar features. The number of such features is limited to sex, age, length of work at the enterprise, affiliation with a socioprofessional group, education, subunit, etc. The permanent value of a feature, such as the year of birth of the worker, for example, is assigned an important role in this combination. In both the sociological document and the personal file an age group scale is used with intervals between items within a single year. Grading according to work seniority at the enterprise may follow a similar method.

The use of this method enables us to establish a selective number among workers studied in previous surveys. The creation of such selections with machine methods is necessary in order to establish the dynamics of the development of collectives and determine changes in consciousness--views, assessments and concepts of respondents. The processing of data arrays is achieved with means usually included in the set of applied programs used in the enterprise's computer center.

Optimizing data storage and processing. Upgrading the efficiency of the data processing and storage system presumes the creation of efficient methods for data reorganization. One such method is that of "compressed" (condensed, reduced) information.

The data arrays received by the information base or for processing are combinations of letter and figure symbols which form a certain code. Such data are compressed with a view to ensuring the efficient organization of the storage of data arrays in the external computer memory or the more efficient utilization of the operative memory of the computer. Surplus information is reduced by eliminating or reformulating secondary components of the prime source or else the latter is presented in a manner convenient for bank storage. Subsequently such data are reconverted without loss of information.

In the course of condensing data, in some cases computers are used only as an auxiliary facility (condensation methods may be conventionally described as machine-independent); in others it is used as an organic element of the method itself (machine-oriented methods). We shall consider briefly the second group.

The initial data array is presented in the shape of matrixes in which the alternatives noted by the respondent are arrayed in a string while the number of respondents are arranged in columns, as follows:

$$A = ||a_{ij}||, i = 1 \dots N^*; j = 1, \dots n,$$

in which a_{ij} is the value of the i symptom (choice) for document j in the data array; n is the number of respondents; N^* is the overall number of choices in the document. Usually, in practical terms n is the number of documents (surveys) submitted for processing.

Based on the utilization of the principle of "compressing" matrixes, data-condensing methods are conventionally classified into intradocumentary, interdocumentary and combined. Their differences are based on the trend of the matrix "compression": by string or by column.

The method of intradocumentary data condensing is oriented toward compressing matrix A by string.

Let us assign the following designations for purposes of further considerations: N is the number of questions in the survey; i is the number of the question; $i = 1, 2, 3 \dots N$; l_i is the number of choices in question i ; t_i is the characteristic of question i (if $t_i = 1$, the question includes incompatible choices); $\text{CEIL } Y$ is the upper round number Y ; m_i is the number of bits of operative memory assigned to question i ; k_i is the answer of the respondent to question i ; p_i is the number of alternative surveys with which question i begins; k_i is the number of alternatives of question i consistent with answer k_i to this question, in which $k_i' = k_i + 1 - p_i$; z_j is the volume of the operative memory of the computer, bytes, covering a single survey; L is the number of investigations in the study (volume of selective totality); j is the number of the survey, $j = 1, 2 \dots L$. The survey coded with a 3-digit sequential code can be presented as a Boolean matrix A^B , which indicates the selection positions in the investigation as 1 and the nonselected as zero.

Usually, the matrix A^B is greatly rarefied (3). It would be expedient for the condensation based on the suggested method¹ to be accomplished by recording the information on a magnetic carrier (particularly if magnetic tape is used as a carrier), for the speed of computation is steady and, consequently, this time can be reduced only by reducing the number of entries (or their length) in the array (4).

This method is based on substituting the Boolean matrix A^B for matrix A , in which the elements of each string in matrix A , represented in decimal figures, is replaced by the binary equivalents of these strings (the selected choices are marked with the figure 1 and the nonselected with 0). The equivalents, combined in blocks of specified length, are then reorganized into decimals. A set of decimal equivalents per string is an element of the string of the "compressed" matrix (A^B) .² In this case the number of strings (number of studies) remains unchanged. The highest decimal equivalent of matrix A^B , corresponding to the maximal length of the block, is computed as $M_{\max}^{\text{dec}} = 2^R - 1$, where R is the number of digits in the block (the number of

combined alternatives in a block). Naturally, any other decimal equivalent of the binary code (M) will assume a value within the interval of entire decimal numbers from 0 to M_{\max}^{dec} . The memory capacity Q^A covered by the investigation is computed as follows:

$$Q^A = P\beta = \sum_{i=1}^N l_i \cdot \frac{\beta}{R}, \quad (1)$$

in which β is the volume of the memory occupied by a single block; P is the number of blocks into which the survey has been broken down.

If we try to optimize the number of surveys stored in matrix A, the problem is reduced to finding the optimal value R which we shall indicate as R_{opt} :

$$Q^A = \left(\sum_{i=1}^N l_i \beta \right) / R_{\text{opt}} \quad (2)$$

Let us indicate the numerator of this formula σ , as the constant for the survey. The result will be $Q^A = \sigma / R_{\text{opt}}$, from which

$$R_{\text{opt}} = \sigma / Q^A. \quad (3)$$

Equation (3) is resolved as follows:

$$\begin{cases} R = \sigma / Q^A, \\ M_{\text{dec}} = 2^R - 1, \\ \lambda = f[M_{\text{dec}}], \\ \beta = (\lambda + 1) \cdot 2, \\ Q^A = \beta \cdot \sum_{i=1}^N l_i. \end{cases}$$

in which $R \geq 0$; f is a function which determines the number of digits occupied by

$$M_{\max}; \beta = \frac{\lambda + j}{2}, \text{ where } j = \begin{cases} 2, & \text{if } \lambda \text{ is an even number} \\ 1 & \text{is an odd number} \end{cases} \quad (4)$$

This method is based on the algorithmic FORTRAN IV language, which could be replaced by a similar language. The modification of this method enables us to obtain condensed data with a "compression" coefficient ranging into several dozens.

The size of the memory (byte) occupied by question i is computed with the formula

$$m_i = \begin{cases} l_i - 1, & \text{for } t_i = 0, \\ \text{CEIL} \log_2(l_i - 1), & \text{for } t_i = 1. \end{cases} \quad (5)$$

The size of the memory (byte) held by a single document will be

$$z_1 = \text{CEIL} \left(\frac{1 + \sum_{i=1}^N m_i}{8} \right). \quad (6)$$

The first bit in the area z_j is used as an indicator of meeting certain conditions in the selection of documents. Before entering the document in the operative computer memory a zero is entered in each bit of the area z_j . The respondent's answers are coded as follows:

1. If the question has not been answered or the respondent has selected the last value of the feature stipulated in the study as his "no answer" choice, the state of the memory allocated to question i remains unchanged, i.e., in all m_i bits the memory section will remain zero.
2. In questions with compatible choices ($t_i = 0$) in k_i' bit the section of the memory held by question i of the introduced document will be recorded as 1.
3. In a question with incompatible choices ($t_i = 1$) in the memory area held by question i , transcribed as m_i of the junior digits of the figure k_i' , presented in a binary aspect.

The computer memory which is left after the breakdown of the dynamic memory (the special type computer memory bank used for input of data arrays, user menus, etc.), held by variables as included in the program, are divided into three parts: (1) storage of characteristic initial data; (2) data processing area; (3) area for storing input data.

This modification of the method for condensing information was achieved with algorithmic language PL-1. The first modification of the condensing method should be used if data are to be filed on a long-term basis (4, 5). The effectiveness of the use of this method can be seen from the following

example. Let us assume that a survey contains 2,000 choices whereas the computer memory bank allocated for the storing of matrixes equals 240K. Without condensing the information in this bank 60 to 70 such surveys may be stored by writing the elements of the program in the algorithmic language FORTRAN-IV.

Results of Resolving Equation System (4) for a Conventional Study

Memory for Matrix = 240K				Number of Choices = 2000		
R	M ^{dec}	λ	I	β	Q ^A	C
1	1	1	2000	1	2000	122
2	3	1	1000	1	1000	245
3	7	1	666	1	666	370
4	15	2	500	2	1000	495
5	31	2	400	2	800	620
6	63	2	333	2	666	745
7	127	3	285	2	570	870
8	255	3	250	2	500	995
9	511	3	222	2	444	1120
10	1023	4	200	3	600	1245
11	2047	4	181	3	543	1370
12	4095	4	166	3	498	1495
29	536 870 911	9	68	5	340	744
30	1 073 741 823	10	66	6	396	869

The results of the solution of the equation system (4) for some cases are given in the table.

With the help of such a "compression" mechanism and with a proper structure of the characteristics of the document (a limited number of choices and the lack of the "no answer" choice in the code) the highest coefficient of data condensation may be achieved.

The method of interdocumentary data compression is distinguished from the preceding one by the fact that the "compressed" matrixes are in columns. In order to describe this method let us introduce additional indicators: k_a is the number of investigations combined within a block; d is the consecutive number of choices along the column of matrix A in the block of surveys subject to condensing; $d = 1, 2, 3 \dots k_a$; M_i is the decimal equivalent figure combined within a block $M_i \leq M_{\max}^{\text{dec}}$; i is the consecutive number of choices in the study in the string of matrix A.

In such a case

$$M_i = \sum_{j=1}^{k_a} a_{ij} \cdot 10^{j-1}, \quad (7)$$

$$M_i < M_{\max}^{\text{dec}} < 2^R - 1,$$

in which $R = 15$ or $R = 30$ depending on the length of the machine half-word or word, which for ES computer equals, respectively, 2 or 4 bytes.

This method is relatively simple and ensures a permanent length of the block of condensed studies, determined by the length of the machine word.

The interdocumentary condensation may involve the use of the described procedure of intradocumentary compression. In this case the elements of each column of matrix A, represented by decimal figures are replaced by binary equivalents of columns, i.e., they are translated into a binary-decimal scale of notation. The further classification of binary equivalents and their transformation into decimal equivalents are similar to the transformations we described and are reduced to resolving the equation system (4). The effectiveness of this method is comparable to that of the intradocumentary condensation of data.

The condensation of sociological information may also be accomplished through combined methods which enable us to achieve a "compression" simultaneously in columns and strings of matrix A. The compression coefficient could attain significant values. However, its application involves a substantial increase in the time spent in reworking the data and developing more complex compression algorithms.

The practical choice of one method or another for data compressing must be coordinated with the speed and volume of operative memory bank of the computer, and the quantity and capacity of external memory systems and programs used.

The preliminary compression of information enables us to store a considerable number of sociological documents directly within the operative memory bank of the computer. Thanks to the methods we described, such condensation offers additional opportunities for developing essentially new algorithms and efficient programs oriented toward the processing of sociological data.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The ratio between the number of entries in the initial array and the number of entries in the packed array is known as the packing ("compression") coefficient of information (ϕ). The transformation from the packed to the initial array is described as the restoration of information. In the sociological data storage and processing system, in addition to procedures for information packing a procedure for its restoration to its initial condition must be stipulated. The packed information fed into the operative computer memory is expanded and processed in accordance with stipulated programs.
2. In the general case the number of elements by chain in matrix A does not equal the number of elements in matrix A^B and matrix A^8 .

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT IN THE PRC

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[Article by P. B. Kapralov, A. M. Kruglov and A. V. Ostrovskiy: "Contemporary Development Trends in PRC Social Structure." The authors are associates at the USSR Academy of Sciences Far East Institute. Petr Borisovich Kapralov is candidate of economic sciences, junior scientific associate, specialist in PRC socioeconomic problems; author of the monograph "Sel'skiye Rayony KNR v 70 ye Gody: Tendentsii Sotsial'no-Ekonomicheskogo Razvitiya" [Rural Rayons in the PRC in the 1970s: Socioeconomic Development Trends] (1981); Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Kruglov is candidate of economic sciences, senior scientific associate, specialist in PRC socioeconomic structure and author of the monograph "Melkaya Promyshlennost' KNR" [PRC Small Industry] (1974); Andrey Vladimirovich Ostrovskiy is candidate of economic sciences, senior scientific associate and author of the monograph "Rabochiy Klass i Yego Mesto v Sotsial'no-Ekonomicheskoy Strukture KNR" [The Working Class and Its Place in PRC Socioeconomic Structure]. This is their first article in our journal]

[Text] The process of development of the social structure of Chinese society is distinguished by its great complexity. In the first years following the founding of the PRC socialist changes were made in the country in the most important industrial sectors and rural cooperation was completed. As a result, socioclass communities of a new type began to develop in the mid-1950s in China, related to the development of the state and collective forms of ownership. However, this progressive process was hindered for a number of years by the policy of the "Great Leap," the creation of people's communes and the "Cultural Revolution." A significant percentage of the PRC population--peasants, workers, and artisans--found itself locked within small self-supporting enterprises, isolated from contemporary technology, whereas the social structure of Chinese society retained the specific features which characterized it at the beginning of the 1950s: a predominant peasantry and a relatively low percentage of workers (see Table 1).

However, we must also note that under the PRC the detachment of workers and employees increased substantially. Whereas in 1949 it totaled 8,009,000 people, it had increased to 31 million in 1957, 49,650,000 in 1965 and 112,800,000 in 1982. The number of people employed in the state sector increased at a particularly fast pace: 15.8 million in 1952, 24.5 million in 1957, 37.4 million in 1965 and 86.3 million in 1982 (1). However, the share

Table 1. Social Structure of Economically Active PRC Population, %*

<u>Population Category</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1982</u>
Workers and employees	13.0	17.3	23.8	25.0
Including:				
State sector	10.3	13.1	18.7	19.5
Collective sector	2.7	4.2	5.1	5.5
Private artisans in the cities	0.4	0.6	0.04	0.32
Peasants	86.6	82.1	76.16	74.68
Economically active population	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Computed from "Zhongguo Tongji Nianjian. 1981" [Chinese Statistical Yearbook for 1981], Beijing, 1982, pp 103-107; "Zhongguo Tongji Zhaiyao, 1983" [Chinese Statistical Reference for 1983]; Beijing, 1983, p 18.

Table 2. Population Employment in PRC Cities and Settlements, 1978-1982, million people *

<u>Population Category</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>
Main sources for reinforcement with young people from cities and settlements, or "literate young people expecting work assignments"***	2.749	6.885	6.225	5.343	4.081
Rural manpower	1.484	0.708	1.274	0.920	0.660
Graduates of universities (institutes), secondary specialized schools and technical schools	0.377	0.334	0.800	1.079	1.174
Others	0.834	1.099	0.701	0.858	0.735
Area of distribution of manpower resources					
State sector enterprises	3.920	5.675	5.722	5.210	4.093
Collective sector enterprises in cities and settlements	1.524	3.181	2.780	2.671	2.223
Private artisan enterprises	--	0.170	0.498	0.319	0.334
Total	5.444	9.026	9.000	8.200	6.650

* Computed from "Zhongguo Tongji Zhaiyao, 1983," Beijing, 1983, p 20.

** "Literate youth awaiting work assignment" applies to graduates of full secondary schools with no specialized professional training, who have not worked for a long period of time (1 year or longer). At the beginning of the 1970s this category was assigned to work in rural areas--people's communes or state farms.

of workers and employees in the overall size of the economically active population remained insignificant as late as 1982, totaling no more than 19.5 percent (see Table 1) while peasants, as in the past, accounted for the bulk of the social structure: under the PRC their number doubled from 165.5 million in 1949 to 332.8 million in 1982 (2).

Although, as we pointed out, by the beginning of the 1980s the size of the working class had increased significantly, the increase was essentially at the expense of the small enterprises. According to the PRC State Statistical Administration, in 5 years (from 1978-1982) 38.3 million people were given jobs in cities and settlements, 13.7 million (35.7 percent) at collective ownership enterprises and with private artisans (see Table 2). Most of those who were assigned jobs at enterprises in the state sector found themselves employed in small enterprises in district centers.

The bulk of the resettled workers consisted of the so-called "literate youth awaiting work assignment" or else young people sent to rural and mountainous areas. In 1980 this group totaled 6,225,000 people (or 69.1 percent of all job reassignments); in 1981 it amounted to 5,343,000 (or 65.1 percent) (3). The percentage of people sent from the people's communes to temporary unskilled work on the basis of contracts was relatively high: 13.2 percent of the number of people reassigned at enterprises in cities and settlements between 1978 and 1982. At the beginning of the 1980s as, in fact, during the preceding period, the main source for reinforcements of the working class were young people without corresponding vocational training.

Naturally, this situation did not contribute to enhancing the qualitative level of the Chinese working class which, as in the past, retains a large number of intermediary and transitional social strata, the so-called "both workers and peasants,"¹ as well as artisan peasants and seasonal workers.² The small factory-plant working class nucleus is surrounded by extensive groups and detachments employed on a temporary or permanent basis in manufacturing and artisan-craft work. The growth of the working class at large factory-plant enterprises is held back by the lack of jobs. A characteristic inheritance system has even developed here: in job hiring priority is given to children of retired workers from the same enterprise (4). A certain privileged stratum compared with the bulk of the workers employed in large-scale industry developed elsewhere in the country.

Starting with the 1980s efforts were undertaken in the PRC to improve the qualitative structure of the working class. A new manpower hiring method was introduced to this effect--the labor contract system, which covered some 160,000 people, essentially young, between the ages of 16 and 25, with a level of education equaling a first-class secondary school or better (5). The new form of labor hiring called for training a worker who was given a scholarship and, after passing the test and a trial period, signing a labor contract for 3 to 8 years, which could be extended. This system, however, affected only an insignificant share of the working class and, as in the past, the large factory-plant enterprises essentially accept the children of cadre workers who retire.

Therefore, despite a certain progress in vocational-technical training in recent years, a system of schools and courses covering the entire worker contingent predominates in the country. To this day the level of vocational training which existed until 1965 has not been reached, when a total of 17 million workers and employees were involved in various forms of training (6).

According to a 1981 study conducted in the city of Suchow, Kiangsu Province, 72.5 percent of the 122 workers in the middle and young age groups in industry, capital construction, transportation and communications had not completed even a first-grade secondary school, while 1,500 people (1.2 percent) turned out to be totally illiterate. The professional technical level of the workers was low as well: first-fourth-grade workers accounted for 83.4 percent of the total number of surveyed workers (7). For China at large, about 79 percent of the 40 million skilled workers belong to the first-third grade.

The need "to energize efforts to upgrade the educational level" was emphasized at the All-China Conference on Problems of Worker and Employee Education, which took place in mid-1982 (8). The PRC Ministry of Finance passed a "Provisional Decree on Expenditures for the Education System of Workers and Employees and Its Organization," according to which, starting with 1982 1.5 percent of the overall enterprise wage fund was to be used for upgrading the skills of the workers in given production areas (9). During that period technical and night schools for workers, television universities and various courses for on-the-job skill upgrading were created.

To this day China has not eliminated worker wage equalization. We must point out, however that of late efforts have been made to upgrade material incentive. To this effect a bonus fund is being set up at the enterprises from profit withholdings, as a result of which the income of highly skilled workers has increased whereas that of unskilled workers has remained unchanged. This has increased the social differentiation within the working class and has led to an aggravation of contradictions above all between the older skilled workers and the young workers. Despite a number of steps taken in recent years, contradictions remain between state and collective enterprise, and permanent and temporary and old and young workers.

As was the case decades ago, the peasantry remains the largest class in Chinese society. Currently it accounts for more than four-fifths of the population and determines the primarily agrarian nature of the country's social structure. Despite repeated efforts to accelerate the reorganization of the Chinese countryside through "leaps" and "people's communes," in terms of basic indicators (labor productivity, living standards, degree of real production socialization) the bulk of the peasantry has remained on the level of the first half of the 1950s. Furthermore, today the Chinese peasant lives in the countryside the overpopulation of which has doubled and is land-short compared to the 1950s (a total of no more than 0.1 hectares of plowland per capita and, in a number of areas, 0.03-0.04 hectares); shortage of grain, vegetables, fuel for cooking and heating, simple wooden tools and pack animals is felt quite frequently and severe natural disasters occur. Twenty-five percent of the more than 300 million able-bodied Chinese peasants are totally or semi-illiterate; 50 percent are graduates of elementary schools and 25 percent of secondary schools (10).

This situation is essentially due to the slowness in the social reorganization of the Chinese countryside, of technical-economic changes and constant upheavals affecting the unstable foundations of collective farming. "Ever since the cooperativization of agriculture," the Chinese press noted, "the appearance of our countryside is essentially one of joint use of old labor tools" (11). By the end of the 1970s the efforts to promote the accelerated mechanization of agriculture through the facilities of small and medium-sized enterprises had ended in failure.

As the country's press has repeatedly admitted, despite a rather impressive saturation of the countryside with agricultural equipment (3hp per hectare), a significant machine fleet (812,000 large and medium-sized tractors and 2.29 million small and manually operated tractors), and the mechanized cultivation of 35 percent of the land (12) the actual level of mechanization remains rather low because of the general backwardness of Chinese industry. Chinese economists have estimated that in order to modernize agriculture 800 to 900 billion yuans will have to be spent, whereas in 1981 and 1982 state capital investments in agriculture were, respectively, 2.9 and 3.4 billion (13). That is why, starting with the end of the 1970s, the state has focused its main attention on the technical retooling of a small group (5 percent of the country's population) in key commodity and experimental areas offering the best natural conditions.

Since 1979 a policy has been pursued in the country the essence of which is to support the traditional peasant single family and small group forms of labor organization and to reduce the excessively high level of socialization inconsistent with immature production forces in agriculture. The plan called for breaking up the communes and brigades with the state retaining its control over the appropriation of the added product through administrative-fiscal responsibility systems" (performing a stipulated amount of work, gathering or procuring a specific amount of produce), thus making the traditional small peasant structures work for the state.

These methods were intensively promoted by the central Chinese press as the "basic means of struggle against poverty." Called upon to intensify the old methods of thorough manual cultivation of the fields, they are a structural component of the entire current strategy of the state in agriculture, which is essentially reduced to "softening the policy," i.e., maneuvering in terms of forms and amounts of taxation of the existing type of underdeveloped agricultural production.

Starting with the end of the 1970s, the state was forced to lower the level of taxes and deliveries, end the strict mobilization of labor and material resources in the Chinese countryside, allow the splintering and disbanding of underproductive communes and brigades and not hinder the restoration of farming methods consistent with age-old peasant traditions of family-clan or private farming, under the slogan of giving the rural areas "a breathing spell for the restoration of their strength" and "easing the burden of the peasants."

This trend was manifested most strongly at the start of the 1980s in the rural areas which account for more than half the country's territory in the

backward mountain areas where approximately a quarter of the country's communes and brigades are concentrated. Here the peasants are directed, as was stated at one of the working conferences of the CPC Central Committee, "to think up by themselves methods and find ways of expanding production and increasing their income" (14), i.e., to grow grain and vegetables in bits of land around their homes, to cultivate neglected brigade fields and barren land on the basis of total or partial freedom from taxes and procurements for the immediate future.

The actual disbanding of communes and the distribution of land to peasants on the basis of a variety of taxation and contracting conditions were gradually extended from the poor to the more developed areas and became the norm for some high-yielding rich sites as well (15). In 1980-1981 the principle of "production self-rescue" was implemented in a number of areas traditionally considered the country's granaries, which had become severely harmed by natural disasters. The concept was essentially expressed in the slogan "Whoever Rebuilds and Grows Appropriates the Crop." Large areas of land in the flat areas were assigned to peasant families, free from taxes and procurements for the next few years (16).

This peculiar turn of the Chinese countryside to single-family "responsibility systems" entailed a certain increase in the labor activeness and incentive of the peasants. At the same time it led to a loss of control over resources, output and production organization and acted as a catalytic agent for a variety of anarchic and destructive processes. One of the main reactions of the peasantry to the new form of farming was the aspiration to obtain immediate advantages from the still-unorganized and unregulated system of its organization. Phenomena such as violations of contractual obligations in terms of variety, volume and quality of deliveries, increased sales based on above-plan production, with a 50-percent markup and free prices, increased areas planted under more profitable industrial and export crops, disorderly construction of housing on assigned fields and excessive use of productive capital and commune and brigade property became characteristic features of the countryside, as reported by the press (17).

The extensive breakdown of farm management in the Chinese countryside is triggering the stratification of the peasantry, intensifying migration to the cities and forcing people unable to feed themselves from their assigned sectors to lease them out. "As the contractual system is introduced and with the development of marketability of agricultural production," the journal NONGYE JINGJI WENTI pointed out, "labor productivity in agriculture and economic efficiency rise significantly. However, surplus manpower in the countryside substantially increases as well" (18).

Petty farming needs a major streamlining. "In a number of areas," RENMIN RIBAO wrote, "the divided fields proved to be too small and scattered. Their cultivation proved to be inconvenient. This has even led to quarrels: peasants are persistently demanding the unification of the land assigned to the individual farmsteads." In a number of areas in which the fields were initially divided according to the number of individuals, in a few years the structure and size of the population changed and the need for a new redivision of the land became urgent (19). Because of overpopulation and land

hunger in a number of areas the expansion of petty farming began to hinder road communications: grain was put out to dry, straw, wood and fertilizer was dumped, and cattlepens or brick kilns were set on the roads. In some areas the roads were fully converted into additional farmland by removing the roadbed and filling the ditches (20).

By the end of 1983 the various types of peasant family contracting, described by the Chinese press as a "large-scale settlement of production relations in the countryside and a major reform in the agricultural management system," had totally squeezed out intermediary farming methods by small groups of peasants from several farmsteads and had become the dominating form of agricultural production organization in the PRC (93 percent of production brigades were converted to this system) (21). Peasant farmsteads began to account for approximately one-half of all agricultural purchases. The farmstead (naturally, above all the larger and more prosperous farms) began to purchase equipment and fertilizer, to receive bank loans and to sell on the free market. CPC Central Committee Document No 1 for 1983 allows the hiring of workers and seasonal workers in the countryside (22). According to statistics, most of the agricultural equipment is already either owned or leased by the farmsteads (23).

An extensive campaign of political-propaganda measures was conducted, aimed at ending the previous discrimination and restrictions imposed on prosperous peasants. Their income was no longer subject to restrictions and their "good reputation was restored." The slogan "not to fear the enrichment of peasants" was promoted. By now a stratum of prosperous peasant farmsteads, totaling 15.6 million (10 percent of the total number) (with an annual income of several thousand yuans or more) has developed, including a large number of active workers managing relatively large and frequently specialized farms. For example, grain-producing farmsteads have harvests reaching several dozen tons and selling 50 to 70 percent of their crops. More than 2.3 million crop-growing farmsteads (1.4 percent of the total) are also raising cattle and poultry, totaling more than 10 million head of cattle, 58 million head of poultry and 12 million rabbits per year. Commodity sales by such farms account for 70 percent of the total. A certain percentage of prosperous peasants (about 4 million farmsteads) is engaged in processing agricultural products, trade, services and transportation (24).

As a result of increased purchase prices, lowered taxes and elimination of various restrictions imposed on private farming, compared with 1978, in 1982 the annual income of the Chinese peasants more than doubled--from 133 to 277 yuans per capita. Approximately one-half of this income comes from the private farms and trade (25). Compared with 1978, the 1981 consumption by the peasants of fine-ground flour, vegetable oil and meat increased by 50-65 percent (26). The average annual increase in the volume of output of agricultural commodities in the PRC between 1979 and 1982 (7.5 percent) was triple the corresponding 1953-1978 indicator (27).

The "responsibility systems" are considered today in the PRC to involve small peasant new-type farms, developing under the conditions of the public ownership of basic production resources (land above all) and public control of the

most important production functions. Bearing in mind the impossibility of engaging in a rapid technical reconstruction of Chinese agriculture, the purpose of the family contract is to intensify the use of labor and material resources within the framework of small-scale farming. The main task of the state in this connection is defined as providing flexible and efficient control over the new methods and the creation of the best possible conditions for combining individual initiative and collective farming by organizing full technical-production, trade and bank-financing servicing of family producers by (or through) communes and brigades which retain planning, purchases, the largest technical facilities and the production infrastructure and communications in their hands (28).

A major feature of the social structure of Chinese society is the existence of a particular social stratum of cadre workers, the so-called ganbu. These are employees engaged in organizational work in areas which ensure control over socioeconomic and political processes in society. The term ganbu applies to any official who has the right to make administrative decisions, from a senior official to the rank-and-file tally man in a production brigade. According to our assessments, at the beginning of the 1980s the PRC had about 40 million such employees, 20 million of them directly subordinate to the CPC Central Committee and PRC State Council (29). The remaining ganbu were paid by the people's commune or production brigade which employ them.

The swelling of the administrative apparatus and of the related ganbu stratum has become the subject of sharp criticism in the central press of late. In 1981 the PRC State Council included more than 1,000 ministers and their deputies (more than 20 in the case of some ministers), and about 5,000 heads of administrations. The structure of the PRC State Council was duplicated in all provinces. In particular, in Kiangsi Province, there were 30 subdivisions before the "Cultural Revolution." Their number rose to 108 in 1981, the same as in the PRC State Council (30).

Starting with 1982 practical steps were undertaken to reduce the administrative apparatus. A reduction in the number of ministers from 98 to 41 and of the personnel of the PRC State Council by one-third was announced in 1982. A struggle was also initiated against corruption and criminal activities in the economic area, closely related to a purge of the administrative apparatus. In a number of areas a gradual renovation of the party and state apparatus was planned by retiring approximately 2 million adult cadre workers (31). On a countrywide scale, however, the reform of the ganbu apparatus has had no radical influence on economic and social development so far.

Within the PRC social structure the intelligentsia, the scientific and technical intelligentsia in particular, remains a weak link unable to exert noticeable influence on the reorganization of China's economy. During the period of domination of the "extreme left deviation" the importance of employees and other personnel engaged in mental work had been reduced steadily. As a result, the pace of increase in the number of engineering and technical workers, teachers, physicians and other professionals slowed down. Although according to the Chinese press over the past 25 years the overall size of the intelligentsia in the PRC rose from 5 to 25 million people (32), this is

exclusively the result of including in the intelligentsia graduates of so-called "21 July universities," "barefoot physician" courses, and other similar institutions with extremely simplified and accelerated training programs. Delegates to the first session of the VSNP [All-China Assembly of People's Representatives], fifth convocation, openly acknowledged that "the quality of school training has declined sharply. A shortage of young cadres with specialized knowledge is acute in all work sectors" (73).

The shortage of university and secondary specialized education graduates is felt particularly acutely in agriculture and light industry. Whereas nationwide ITR [engineering and technical workers] account for 3 percent of the total number of workers and employees, they account for only 0.9 percent in light industry (0.34 percent in collective enterprises and 0.001 percent in agriculture). The number of specialists in agricultural people's communes and production brigades is continuing to decline.

At the beginning of the 1980s the level of training and professional skills of the intelligentsia remained quite low. According to official Chinese data, by the end of 1981 the country had 5,714,000 members of the scientific and technical intelligentsia employed in the state sector. Only 43.7 percent of them were graduates of a higher educational institution. A particularly difficult situation has developed in health care (only 25.7 percent of specialists have higher training) and agriculture (35.1 percent respectively) (35). The level of teachers' professional skill remains rather low. According to the Chinese press "they are unfamiliar with the latest achievements in science and technology, for during the 'Cultural Revolution' VUZ training and scientific research were interrupted" (36).

Many members of the scientific and technical intelligentsia do not work in their field of training. According to the Chinese press, in some provinces the number of such workers is so high as to exceed that of all VUZ graduates for the past 3 years (37).

As a whole, at the start of the 1980s the situation with the intelligentsia was quite difficult. According to a study made in March 1982 at 11 Beijing enterprises, the average monthly salary of intellectual workers was 79.47 yuans or 6.89 yuans lower than that of workers engaged in physical labor (38). The Tientsin City Trade Union Committee held a discussion on the situation of the intelligentsia, in the course of which not only the low income but poor living conditions were pointed out. The participants in the discussion concluded that "working and living conditions of the intelligentsia had to be improved" (39). The fact that the need to change the social status of the intelligentsia is beginning to be realized in China is confirmed by numerous reports in the Chinese press. However, the intelligentsia, the scientific and technical intelligentsia in particular, remains a weak link in the social structure of the PRC.

One of China's characteristics is the existence of a significant number of petty producers. By the end of 1983 patents for individual enterprises were held by 1,860,000 people in Chinese cities and settlements, i.e., their number had increased by a factor of 12.4 compared with 1978 (40). The individual enterprise sector, consisting of small and very small enterprises, is

almost entirely based on the use of manual labor. Actually, the concept of "enterprise" itself is quite arbitrary and it is rather a question of enterprises, institutions and farmsteads in which the entrepreneur is essentially a private artisan. A typical example is provided by Shanghai, where the sector of individual enterprises, which is the most representative in the country, has a combined capital of 1 million yuans, i.e., averaging about 100 yuans per "enterprise."

In order to ease the rather acute problems of employment, the individual enterprises are allowed to have students and assistants, the number of which was gradually increased from five to 11. Nevertheless, the Chinese press occasionally denies the existence of hired labor in the country. HONGQI, the CPC Central Committee theoretical organ, claims that "most of the income of the owners of individual enterprises is earned and only a small percentage comes from the work of students and assistants. Therefore," it concludes, "one should not speak of the exploitation of someone else's labor" (41).

Documents of the CPC Central Committee and the PRC State Council, published in recent years, stipulate that owners of individual enterprises "are full socialist working people, masters of the state" (42). Two representatives of individual entrepreneurs attended the last convocation of the VSNP.

The Chinese press emphasizes the need to eliminate all manifestations of political discrimination toward petty entrepreneurs. "Their work and social status," RENMIN RIBAO writes, "must be protected and respected. This applies to all areas of social life, including job hiring and school enrollment or entering army service.... Wherever suitable conditions exist, the organization of sectorial trade unions and other mass organizations should be allowed. Party and Komsomol organizations should be created and CPC and Komsomol members should be recruited" (42). The press cites data on the creation of party organizations consisting of private enterprise owners. Their labor seniority begins the day they receive their patent, i.e., in terms of political rights and social status they are equated to workers and employees in state enterprises.

In accordance with the instructions of the PRC State Council (July 1981), private enterprises in the city include services, such as repairs of housing, household utensils, garment sewing and mending, package deliveries, petty retail trade, public catering and purchasing and marketing the output of auxiliary industries.

In agriculture, in addition to small agricultural tools, privately owned items include small generators and even small hydroelectric power plants, warehouses and grain storing facilities. Private transportation has been developing increasingly, particularly after permission was granted by the All-China Conference on Problems of Communication and Transportation (March 1983), to sell trucks and tractors to private individuals. Private schools, including vocational-technical schools, movie theaters, libraries, sports-grounds and emergency medical aid centers have been legitimized; physicians can practice privately.

Despite a number of legislative, political and economic measures taken by the state to encourage the development of individual enterprises in the cities, the implementation of this policy is encountering certain difficulties. Fear of high taxes and of any recurrence of repressions against individual entrepreneurs, typical of the "Cultural Revolution" period, and the unwillingness of young people to give up entirely the hope of finding jobs at state enterprises and acquire related social privileges are hindering the development of private enterprise.

According to the Chinese press, the course charted by the central government regarding private enterprises is encountering the open opposition of local cadre workers. Thus, ignoring instructions, district wholesale bases sell goods to owners of individual enterprises at retail rather than wholesale prices.

As noted by the Chinese press, as a result of these and other violations, an increasingly clear trend toward reducing private enterprise is developing. Thus, in the first half of 1981 755 patents were returned in the city of Changchong (Girin Province); in Jinan (Shantung) within a single quarter of 1981 the number of owners of individual enterprises dropped by 5 percent and, according to reports submitted by cadre workers of the industrial trade department, "continued to decline subsequently as well" (43).

The development of private enterprises in Chinese cities is a complex process displaying all the features of a petty commodity economy of the transitional period. The Chinese press has noted with concern the conflicting trends of this development, above all in terms of the course of centralized planning of financing and economic activities of private enterprises. Examples of this are found in the 1983 campaigns to prevent arbitrary price increases by entrepreneurs, blocking economic abuses related to bribery, theft, and so on. In Beijing alone 15 economic courts were set up to consider hundreds of such cases as well as cases of violating laws on hiring trainees and assistants.

The restoration of the social category described in the Chinese press as "former industrialists and merchants" by decision of the CPSU Central Committee of 1979 is a characteristic feature of the socioeconomic structure of contemporary Chinese society. As we know, the base for the existence of a national bourgeoisie as a class was undermined in 1956, when its productive capital was taken over by the state. Members of the national bourgeoisie were hired (in most cases nominally) as administrative workers with salaries considerably higher than those of state cadre workers of the same rank. Through the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution" members of the national bourgeoisie were paid a so-called "fixed interest"--5 percent of the amount of their former capital (44).

In accordance with said CPC Central Committee resolution, "former industrialists and merchants" were given back their bank deposits and other property and paid their former higher salaries. They also regained the right to invest abroad. "Former industrialists and merchants" are allowed a return on funds "invested in business." A construction company has already begun work in Shanghai, with a combined capital of 60 million yuans, and so has a stock-holding transportation brokerage in Beijing.

By CPC Central Committee decision, the city party committees in a number of large industrial centers undertook to make changes in the political status of members of this social group. By the end of 1980 26,760 people in Beijing and 10,563 in Guanzhou were classified as workers and many of them were reclassified as "artisans," "petty merchants" and "hawkers." According to Ye. Jianying, the then-chairman of the VSNP Permanent Committee, "the former capitalists...have been reeducated and have become working people living from their own work," and "the return of bank deposits and the rather high salaries paid to members of the national bourgeoisie should not be considered income from exploitation." According to a CPC Central Committee circular (January 1981) China has 100,000 "former industrialists and merchants," only 20 percent of whom hold a job and 80 percent are retired (45).

In citing these and similar arguments in favor of changing the social status of "former industrialists and merchants," the Chinese press openly hopes that these steps "will have a beneficial influence on Chinese capitalists abroad and, furthermore will contribute to upgrading the activeness of members of industrial and merchant circles in the interest of implementing the "four modernizations." Nearly 10 percent of former industrialists and merchants were represented at the sixth convocation of the VSNP. By decision of the CPC Central Committee, social security and benefits have been extended to members of this group. The amount of their pensions, age group and health benefits they have been granted are exactly the same as those of cadre workers and employees in state enterprises. Restrictions for membership in the CPC, the Komsomol, VUZs or jobs for the offspring of bourgeois families have been lifted (46).

According to noted Chinese scientists, such steps may have quite tangible social consequences. Thus, Xue Muqiao, a leading PRC economist, emphasized that "we may attract foreign capital and welcome the contribution of overseas Chinese. However, should we allow private individuals to invest in state enterprises?.... Currently some prosperous communes are investing funds in the creation of enterprises whose activities exceed their framework. Private enterprises have appeared in some areas, with more than 10 employees" (47).

To sum it up, let us emphasize that the basic objective factor which determines the current condition of the social structure in the PRC is an extremely low level of development of the country's production forces. This precisely explains the restoration of various elements of a mixed economy in the national economy, such as traditional small group or private peasant farms in the countryside and petty private enterprise in the towns. Judging by all available data, in the next few years the development of the social structure of the PRC will be defined by a policy aimed at the all-round development of a mixed economy.

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FOOTNOTES

1. "Both workers and peasants" applies to peasants employed at industrial enterprises with a contract.
2. Peasants-artisans are those employed in nonagricultural labor during periods free from farmwork. Seasonal workers are peasants employed in crafts, trade and haulage during periods free from farmwork.

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WOMEN'S PROFESSIONAL WORK AND DEMOGRAPHIC BEHAVIOR

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(signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 154-162

[Article by M. M. Malysheva: "Women's Professional Work and Demographic Behavior: Experience of a Second Study of International Comparative Research." Marina Mikhaylovna Malysheva is a junior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. She is the author of the article "Women's Employment in Social Production: Study of National-Territorial Differences" published in this journal (No 1, 1983)]

[Text] The contradiction between professional women's work and the socio-demographic development of society, theoretically substantiated at the symposium held by sociologists, demographers and jurists in Minsk in 1969 (1), has remained relevant to this day.

The study of this problem requires the use of data of international studies, for within a single country or area the interconnection between women's employment and demographic processes assumes specific forms based on the deployment of production forces and cultural and ethnic characteristics of the way of life. Despite the substantial funds which have been allocated in the developed capitalist countries for the implementation of a sociodemographic policy, sexual inequality remains one of the characteristic features of the class polarization of society.

The active professional work of women and expanded population reproduction are no alternatives. We shall try to prove this with the results of international sociostatistical studies.

The correlation between the above-mentioned basic parameters of the way of life of the population may be interpreted as a stochastic interconnection, one of the components of which is a dependent and the other an independent variable. However, it is not excluded that these parameters do not directly determine each other but depend on a third, obvious or latent, variable. Therefore, the "ideal" analytical model of a demographic situation stipulates the use of three possible determining variants: a) the birth rate drops as women's employment in public production increases; b) a reduced birth rate increases the women's contingent in the economically active population; c) both employment and birthrate depend on a common latent variable.*

* Many specialists relate the last variant to the cyclical development of society, specifically to the conversion from traditionalism to contemporaneity. This concept is actively developed within the framework of the "sociology of development" (2).

In addition to these determining trends, the strength of this correlation and its nature and localization are of major analytical significance. Local types of demographic situations exist in which the correlation between birth rate and women's employment is unlike the one "dictated" by the so-called general trend. It is on the basis of such methodological positions that we shall consider the data of international sociostatistical studies.

At the turn of this century the birth rate coefficients in Western Europe averaged 30 per 1,000 population; by the 1930s, however, they had already dropped by nearly one-half. A further decline in such indicators took place during World War II. The boom in the birthrate which followed covered virtually all Western European countries. In some of them another upsurge was noted during the first half of the 1960s. The birth rate dropped again by 1980, reaching its lowest possible level (averaging approximately 12 per 1,000). In Canada and the United States as well these indicators drastically declined over the past 20 years, averaging 15-16 per 1,000 (see Table 1).

Table 1. Dynamics of Women's Employment and the Birth Rate
in Some Capitalist Countries, %, per thousand

Country	Level of Women's Economic Activeness			Birth Rate Level, per thousand		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Great Britain	27.4	32.6	35.9	17.8	16.2	13.1
FRG	42.0	33.2	33.3	18.2	12.7	10.0
France	27.6	28.0	33.0	18.4	17.1	14.8
Sweden	25.7	29.8	46.5	13.3	14.1	11.7
Canada	19.7	28.3	37.6	26.0	17.0	15.5
United States	24.6	33.1	39.8	34.0	17.3	15.9

Sources: (4-9)

A similar trend is characteristic of the demographic development of countries in the southern part of Europe: Greece, Spain, Italy and Portugal. Within roughly the same chronological time periods, periods of decline and upsurge of the birth rate could be noted; its 1980 level was also significantly lower than during the preceding 20 years (averaging 17 per thousand). Therefore, the current demographic situation in the North American continent and in most European capitalist countries shows a decline in the birth rate.

The picture presented by professional occupations of women is far more disparate. As Table 1 shows, in some developed capitalist countries the share of working women has been increasing steadily with the decline of the birth rate. In a number of countries (Great Britain, Denmark, Finland, Switzerland, Sweden, Canada, United States), this trend has prevailed mostly among 25-to-55-year-old women, i.e., primarily married ones. Starting with 1960, the average indicators of economically active married women have increased here by 30 percent (3, p 18).

Furthermore, in a number of industrially developed Western European countries such as Belgium, Ireland, Luxembourg, The Netherlands and Norway, where the birthrate is equally low and where, as in most other countries in that area, for the past several decades the small family has dominated, no more than one-quarter of the adult female population has been employed. Consequently, it is hardly possible to speak in this case of the existence of a clear interconnection between the population reproduction system and female employment.

As to southern Europe, the range of indicators of economic activities here fluctuates between 18 and 27 percent, with the following noteworthy fact: an insufficiently high level of employment, with the exception of agriculture, for in Greece, Spain, Italy and Portugal it is traditionally female labor which is employed in farming. In the other sectors of the countries in this area no more than one-fifth of the female population is employed.

Therefore, there are no grounds to explain the reduced birthrate in southern European countries exclusively in terms of the increased involvement of women with professional activities.

The population reproduction area is a functional social system which is integral, relatively autonomous and capable of self-regulating (10). Changes in this area may not be reduced to a simple reaction to changed external conditions. Apparently a conversion to a lower level of fertility in southern Europe is related above all to the effect of internal determining features governing the functioning of the demographic system.

Specialists who have studied the reasons for the different levels of economic activeness of women in countries with identically low birthrates, have justifiably noted the great influence of traditions and patriarchal family ideals. The norms which tie women to the home, even with increased control over the birthrate, are not simultaneously surmounted everywhere and in a number of cases remain unchanged for long periods of time. Religion plays an important role in the preservation of traditional concepts (11).

In addition to strictly psychological and ideological factors, social policy is of great importance in increasing women's economic activeness. It is a question of insufficiently effective help to the family, lack of concern for children by the state and the limited nature of social measures which encourage the combination of domestic with professional duties by women.

As a whole, the "synchronous" change in fertility and female employment is a complex and comprehensive multidimensional process which assumes a great variety of forms of manifestation and calls for looking for local economic, social and cultural factors which determine the level of the birthrate and women's economic activeness.

What is the influence of the number of children on women's participation in public production? The existence of a feedback between these two variables has been confirmed by a number of studies conducted by the European Economic Community. As we see in Table 2, employment among married women drops in

all age groups with the increased number of children. However, if we trace the nature and range of this correlation in terms of position held by the age groups we find a trend of clear weakening of this connection in the higher age groups. Thus, a comparison between the two extreme groups easily shows that among women in the 25-29 age group the percentage of employed declines much more sharply with the increased number of children compared to members of the oldest age group. Let us take France as an example. Here the share of 25-29-year-old women in the economically active population drops from 53 percent among those with one child to 13 percent with three children, i.e., by 40 percent. In the 45-49-year age group the respective indicators are 35 and 19 percent, i.e., the gap drops to 16 percent. In other words, the higher the age group the less the number of children influences the level of female participation in public production. This pattern is based on the fact that the older the woman is the older, as a rule, are her children and, consequently, the less they need maternal supervision. The mother plays a tremendous role in caring for and raising the small child; this is precisely the reason for which a woman must frequently refuse employment. This need is eliminated only with time. The correlation between the indicators of female employment and the age of their young children may be traced with increasing clarity. This difference in indicators of economic activity becomes particularly noticeable by comparing groups of mothers with children of preschool age. This leads to the conclusion that the professional activeness of the women is influenced less by the number of children than by their age. It is precisely the age of the child rather than that of the woman which plays a dominant role in defining her labor status.

If we consider women with the same number of children, the greater the interval between births, the lower the level of women's participation in public production becomes.

However obvious and stable these trends may be, it is hardly likely that they will prevail in the future as well. Over the past 10 years the greatest "increase" in economic activeness indicators has been noted precisely among mothers of small children. In Sweden, for example, the percentage of employed women with children under 7 in 1970 was nearly double that of 1960; the corresponding figures were 30 and 17 percent. In the United States, between 1960 and 1975 the involvement of mothers with preschool-age children in public production also occurred at the faster pace compared with other female categories. Mothers of infant children are returning to the labor market with increasing frequency and periods of interruption in professional activities are becoming increasingly shorter. Whereas in 1960 only 15 percent of American women with children 3 years of age or younger worked in public production, by 1975 their share had reached 33 percent. Meanwhile, the share of mothers of school-age children in the economically active population increased by less than one-half within the same period.

Furthermore, in connection with the steady increase in the cost of the upbringing and education of children in the United States a new trend has become apparent: the number of children in families with working mothers is growing, whereas that in families with nonworking mothers is declining. The children's age plays no role in this connection (see Table 3).

Table 2. Correlation Between the Economic Activeness of Married Women and the Number of Children and the Age of the Youngest Child
(% of women employed by age group)

Country, Year and Age Group	No. of Children			Age of the Youngest Child		
	1	2	3 and More	2 Years or Younger	3-6 Years	7 Years or Older
France, 1968						
25-29	53	27	13	31	38	52
30-34	55	32	17	25	31	44
35-39	51	33	19	21	25	38
40-44	40	29	18	20	21	34
45-49	35	27	19	20	21	31
Norway, 1970						
25-29	51	27	18	31	34	48
30-34	49	36	26	26	33	47
35-39	49	39	30	24	32	48
40-44	48	39	33	25	31	47
45-49	44	40	35	29	32	44
Sweden, 1970						
25-29	45	25	18	27	36	54
30-34	49	34	26	25	33	52
35-39	54	43	34	24	33	54
40-44	54	46	36	24	31	53
45-49	49	43	34	23	23	47

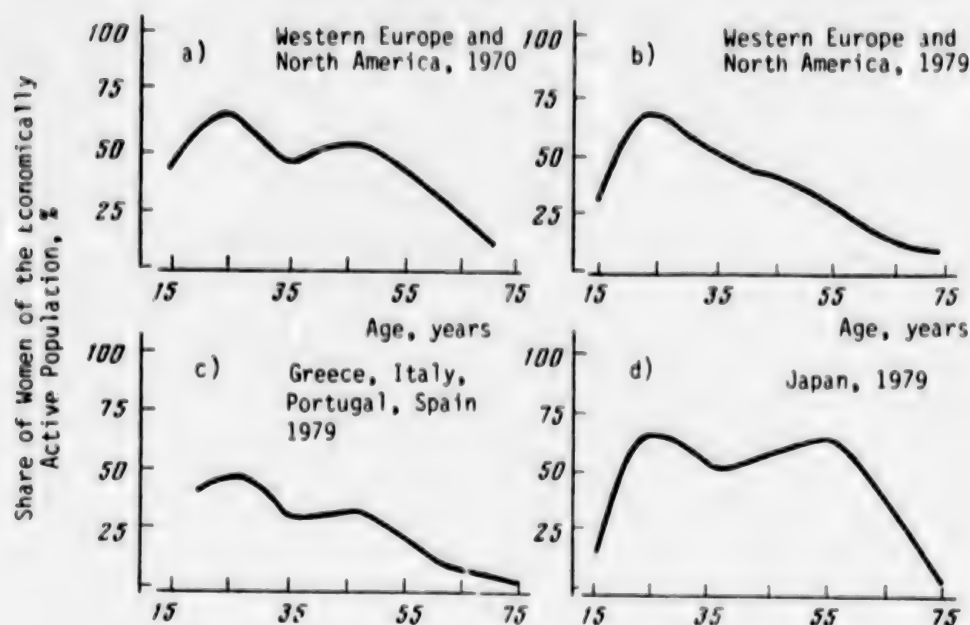
Source: (3, p 19)

Table 3. Dynamics of the Number of Children Based on Mother's Economic Activeness, thousands

Mothers' Economic Activeness	Children's Age			
	Under 6		6-17	
	1970	1980	1970	1980
Employed	5.6	7.5	10.0	23.2
Unemployed	13.9	9.8	25.6	16.7

Source: (12)

The indicators of economic activeness have also increased among mothers with four or more children. According to statistical data of the British Ministry of Employment, based on the results of the 1971 census, 16 percent of such women worked in excess of 36 hours per week, whereas more than one-half (58 percent) of married childless women worked 30 hours only (13, p 61).



For a long time the age group curve of economic activeness of women in highly developed industrial countries in Western Europe and North America was shaped like the letter M (see Fig. 1, a) according to which the extreme situation was that of the 20-24-year-old age group. The curve then drastically declined in the 25-34-year interval, i.e., during the phase in the life cycle in which the birthrate level is particularly high, rising again (although not so steeply as in the first case) in the 45-50-year age group. The existence of a second peak of economic activity among women over 40 is the main distinguishing feature of this diagram, for the reduced number of working women aged 25 to 35 was quite clear and occurred in the middle of the 20th century far more rapidly than at the start (this particularly applies to countries in which the state provided special aid to families with children). Furthermore, this age curve showing the number of working women was determined by the fact that between the 1950s and the 1970s from 35 to 45 percent of 50-year-old women were employed in Great Britain, the United States and France, i.e., significantly more than at the turn of the century. In 1920 the average age of the working American woman was 28; by the end of the 1960s it was over 42.

In her book "History and Sociology of Female Labor," E. Sullero wrote that the "double-hump" curve reflects a new and very important phenomenon: labor activeness is not uninterrupted. It is terminated with the appearance of small children in the family; subsequently the woman goes back or tries to go back to work. This trend, which became particularly clear in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Sweden, France and Switzerland, appeared of late, during the 1950s or 1960s. We may assume that subsequently it will spread to other industrial countries as well" (14).

Indeed, until recently the bimodal curve was basic in characterizing the age "profile" of the participation of married women in public production in said

countries. A new trend was noted in 1979, however: the peak formed only one decade ago by women in their 50s began to disappear once again. The economic activeness of the members of this group did not decline at all. Furthermore, in some countries their share in the economically active population even increased: in France, for example, 50.9 percent of women in the 50-54-year age group are engaged in professional work; the figure is 56.2 percent for the United States and is equal to the 20-24-year age group--69.3 percent--in Japan (9).

The main reason for the changes in the bimodal curve is the unparalleled increase in the economic activeness of women during the life cycle marked by the highest number of births. We already mentioned the trend of increased participation in the work force of women with small children in Sweden and the United States. Let us cite a few more figures. As we noted, the curve of women's economic activeness reaches its peak in the 20-24-year age group. In France this peak has "shifted" today to the 25-29-year age group. The share of working women is 67.3 percent in the first case and 68.9 percent in the second. In Italy the difference between employment indicators in these two groups is even higher by 3.3 percent. Should this trend intensify, it would be most logical to expect that the age curve of women's economic activeness will assume the shape of a gently sloping "hill," the "peak" of which will consist of members of a broader age group--the 20-29-year-olds (see Fig. 1, b). The effect this will have on the birth rate in the countries under consideration will largely depend on the effectiveness of social policy in the area of regulating female labor. Providing extensive facilities for caring for preschool-age children will become the main problem, the solution of which will enable us to answer the question of whether or not the birthrate here will remain on the simple reproduction level.

Currently the need for children's preschool institutions is met quite poorly in Western European countries and the United States. In Great Britain, Finland and France, for example, only 10 percent of working women can place their child in a kindergarten or a nursery; in Italy and the FRG most preschool institutions are run by religious philanthropic organizations or by private business; the fees they charge are too steep for the broad population strata. According to specialists, the situation is particularly dramatic in the United States. Here only 2.3 percent of working women's children are enrolled in children's institutions (15).

In winding up the consideration of the dynamics of labor activeness of women in industrially developed Western European countries and North America, we must emphasize that it would be erroneous to explain the increased share of married women aged 20 to 29 in the overall number of the working female population only as a result of reduced interruption of employment by mothers of small children. The increased number of women in this age group in the economically active population is also related to the fact that now that the training process of girls is longer they enter the labor market later than they did 15 or 20 years ago, not to mention the more distant past. Whereas at the turn of the century no less than 50 percent of girls aged 15 to 19 held jobs in all developed countries, today only one-third of that number hold jobs. The reduced percentage of economically active women in

this group is seen quite clearly in Fig. 1, b. Another important reason for increased professional employment among the 20-29-year women's age group is the increased number of single, divorced and childless women. The extent to which the family situation of women influences their employment in public production shall be considered later. At this point we shall ask the following question: what is the configuration of the age curve of economic activities in countries whose living standard is different from the "European?"

A low level of employment of young women is inherent in southern European countries. The main characteristic here is the existence of a horizontal segment of the curve for the 30-55-year age group, in which no more than 25 percent of women are employed (see Fig. 1, c). Let us point out that this feature is characteristic of the Benelux countries and Ireland, although here the indicators of economic activeness of young women are as high as in most Western European countries.

The sociodemographic situation in Japan is somewhat different from that in the industrially developed Western European countries. A characteristic feature of the age structure in the professional employment of Japanese women is that their economic activeness in the 50-54-year age group is as high as in the 20-24 group. That is precisely why the second peak, which "disappears" in Western Europe not only remains but is significantly higher in Japan (see Fig. 1, d). Studies have indicated that for the past 30 years the number of Japanese women returning to work at the age of 50 has been most intensive. Thus, in 1960 53 percent of women aged 40 to 54 were employed; the number reached 61.8 percent in 1970 and 69.3 percent in 1979. The first trend has become particularly emphatic against the background of the second--the reduced number of working women aged 25 to 29, i.e., the period which is the most fertile in Japan (16).

In Western Europe life-cycle models related to participation in public production are quite similar between single men and single women. The employment level of the former is essentially lower than among women; in the latter it is significantly higher than among married women. That is why differences in the earnings of married men and single women are smaller compared to other sociodemographic groups. Thus, in Great Britain differences in the hourly wages of married men and single women within the same age group and with the same level of education do not exceed 18 percent, whereas it is 50 percent between married men and married women (17). A woman who has never been married spends 90 percent of her time in public production compared to less than 50 percent for a married woman with children. The percentage of single mothers and women who have married more than once among those employed in professional work is far lower than among women who have never married but is higher than among mothers living with their spouses.

The increased need for female labor leads to the fact that in Western countries single and divorced women, who only 20 years ago felt themselves alienated from society, are now a new, a growing source of labor resources which has drawn the attention of entrepreneurs and businessmen. A significant increase in the percentage of unmarried women aged 20 to 29 has occurred over the past 30 years in Canada, the United States, Austria, Great Britain, Denmark, Finland, the FRG and Sweden. At the same time the percentage of

divorced women has increased (3, p 92). This has substantially changed the fertility model. Along with said trends, the restructured "model" of the family is increasingly influencing the indicators of women's economic activeness.

Another aspect in the study of the interaction between demographic processes and professional women's work is related to the problem of the partial working day. Since partial employment (let us point out that the overwhelming majority of the partially employed in all countries are women) is included in statistical data as part of the economically active population, the fact is reflected on the overall indicators of the participation of women in the labor force. Two trends can be singled out in this respect. In some countries the growth of women's employment is essentially the result of individuals working part-time; in others it includes full-time workers. Thus, in Norway more than half of the working women are employed part-time. In Britain and Sweden female employment during the 1960s and 1970s increased mainly also thanks to this category and the number of women working full-time actually declined. The increased share of the latter was only about 50 percent of the growth of overall employment in England and 75 percent in Sweden (3, p 27).

In the United States and Canada the number of women working half-time is increasing faster. However, starting with approximately 1975, the overall indicators increased more in the case of women working full-time. The same applies to Finland and France.

It may be assumed that the main reasons for the partial employment of women (few countries collect data on this matter) are related to the need to raise the children and run the household. This is confirmed by a survey conducted by the British National Bureau for Problems of Prices and Income, according to which women's refusal to work a full day is explained by family circumstances (13, p 63). American researchers have cited the same reason for partial employment (18).

It is important to note that since the opportunity to work half-time is usually found in the least attractive sectors requiring neither high skills nor specialized knowledge, many young women are forced to reject it even despite their need. Middle-aged and elderly women take up such jobs far more frequently. Young women, who are better educated and with professional training frequently prefer to work a full shift, combining professional work with caring for their children and running the household. Therefore, partial employment meets to a great extent the needs of women of retirement age rather than young mothers. In Denmark, for example, only 20 percent of women employed in industry work part-time; part-time work accounts for 25-30 percent in office work, education and health care and, respectively, 64 and 40 percent of cleaning women and women in public catering (19). A similar situation exists in other countries: enterprises in which part-time work is used more extensively are cafeterias, restaurants, chemical cleaning and laundry establishments, stores and medical clinics. Employment in these and similar institutions does not require high skills. Wages are low and no advancement prospects exist.

Partial employment in Western countries is primarily a method for attracting manpower with a view to ensuring the rhythmical functioning of enterprises and establishments requiring additional manpower. This is particularly typical of the service industry where the workload fluctuates highly because of the uneven flow of clients--purchasers, customers, hospital patients, etc. Other factors encouraging this type of labor are the desire to extend the use of the equipment and to reduce the shortage of full-time personnel.

The partially employed working women are the most highly exploited group by the owners. As a rule, lower wage rates are applied here, which are furthermore kept on the minimal wage level as agreed upon between entrepreneurs and trade unions, with limited social security and paid leave benefits. On the other hand, the employment of several people in the same job during a single shift increases labor productivity: labor productivity is 15 to 30 percent lower among full-time workers because of fatigue at the end of the working day. Therefore, the main reason for widespread partial employment of women in the capitalist countries is the pursuit of economic profit.

Partial female employment has a conflicting influence on demographic behavior. In a number of cases it helps to combine professional with household roles and is of progressive importance. As a whole, however, it is one of the forms of intensified utilization of the female labor force.

It is hardly possible presently to provide a comprehensive definition of the nature and the trend of interaction between women's professional employment and the birthrate. This problem cannot be resolved simply. However, the results of international studies confirm that it must be considered in the context of the correlation among socioeconomic and demographic laws of social development.

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SIMMEL ON PURE OR FORMAL SOCIOLOGY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 84
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[Article translated from the German by Dr of Philosophical Sciences L. G. Ionin: "Social Intercourse. Example of Pure or Formal Sociology"]

[Text] A science unaware of its history is condemned to wandering and repeating itself. This applies to all areas of scientific knowledge but is doubly justified in the case of sociology, which has been led to the front end of the ideological struggle and the revolutionary reorganization of the world by the period in which we live. Any sociological theory includes two interrelated aspects: scientific and ideological. Ignoring even one of them means substantially impoverishing the conceptual and practical potential of the science. Ideological blindness entails retreat from certain positions in the ideological struggle; lack of attention to the scientific side reduces the arsenal of conceptual and empirical methods used in Marxist research and seriously harms the professional training of sociological cadres.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism have not only provided superlative models of dialectical analysis of social thinking but also develop the methodological principles for assessing and using the works of bourgeois social scientists. In noting that bourgeois professors "should not be trusted" in matters of conceptual and philosophical aspects of research, V. I. Lenin also pointed out the need for the Marxists to master and rework the positive gains of bourgeois science: "Without them you would not take even a single step forward in the study of new economic phenomena." In his work "On the Significance of Militant Materialism," after sharply criticizing the book by the German religious expert A. Drews, V. I. Lenin wrote: "This is not to say that Drews should not be translated. It means that the communists and all consistent Marxists must, while implementing to a certain extent their alliance with the progressive segment of the bourgeoisie, steadily expose it whenever it becomes reactionary."

It was those Leninist concepts which guided the editors in opening a new section the purpose of which is to document the history of sociological thinking. The section will not only provide formal "familiarity" with the works of the greatest sociologists of the 19th and 20th centuries but will also "broaden the horizon," awaken sociological imagination and widen the range of the various types and applications of sociological analysis.

Georg Simmel (1858-1918) was an acknowledged bourgeois sociological classicist. His latest book published during his lifetime (1917) was "Fundamental Problems of Sociology (Individual and Society)," consisting of four chapters. In the first chapter the author expresses his views on the nature and structure of sociological theory. He believes that sociology consists of a combination of three components: general, pure (or formal) and historical. General sociology, whose content and method are explained in the second chapter, deals with the study of philosophical problems affecting the nature of individual and social human existence. According to Simmel, pure (or formal) sociology studies so-called forms of socialization--relatively stable and recurring forms of human interaction which are found in any historically known society. The scientist selected for his analysis the "purest" of the "pure forms"--the phenomenon of human contacts, which symbolizes "form" as such. This is the question discussed in the third chapter of the monograph which follows.

Finally, in the concluding chapter Simmel offers a model of research practiced in historical sociology, tracing the processes of development and reorganization of social forms in specific historically variable contexts.

The text submitted to the attention of the readers came out in 1911 in the materials of the First Congress of the German Sociological Society (1). This was a period of tempestuous discussions on the nature and functions of sociological knowledge. The heating of passions was explained also by the fact that in addition to theoretical-methodological, the problem had its organizational and political aspects. Sociology did not enjoy the right to be independently represented within the framework of the German educational system: it was taught either as "national economy" or "philosophy." Furthermore, in the eyes of the power of the haves and the "diploma'd lackeys" sociology was identified with socialism and considered a weapon for undermining the existing system. As to Simmel, suffice it to mention a reference to his activities by Berlin historian Schefer on the request of the Prussian Ministry of Education; it states, among others, that Simmel "substitutes 'society' for the state and the church, allegedly satisfying the needs of joint human existence" (2).

Indeed, Simmel refused to acknowledge the "popular spirit" embodied in the church and the state as the foundation of social existence. In his works he discussed "society as such," which made a sociological view on social phenomena possible and which structured sociology as a science. This orientation had its theoretically positive and negative consequences. In addition to those we named, the positive features included the rational nature of Simmel's concept and the possibility it offered of discovering and studying specific sociological laws in literally all areas of social life and the inherently critical nature displayed by this concept in terms of the existing order of things. The negative aspects included Simmel's formalism in the consideration of social phenomena, which largely depreciated his historical observations and prevented him from fully displaying his sharp "historical sense." In the final account, it was precisely formalism (combined with the irrationalism of the philosophy of life) which became the reason for the nonhistorical nature of Simmel's sociology and the skepticism shown toward his social gnosiology.*

* For more details on Simmel's sociology see (3).

The qualities and shortcomings we mentioned also apply to the essay which follows. In itself, the publication of this material would have hardly been justified had it not provided, in addition to historical-sociological information, food for thought on problems facing today's sociology. It is particularly necessary to mention in this connection the current active discussion of the concept of sociology of intercourse. Without going into details and seeking similarities and differences between the viewpoints expressed by Simmel and contemporary sociologists, let us merely point out that Simmel analyzes intercourse both as a principle of approach and as an empirical given. He identifies some methodological problems and ontological characteristics of this phenomenon of which contemporary researchers are not always aware.

A few remarks on the translation: "Vergesellschaftung" is translated as "socialization." Simmel's "Geselligkeit" is translated as "intercourse." Simmel interprets intercourse in the "broad" and "narrow" meanings of the term similar to the way in the Russian language intercourse may indicate any interaction among humans or passing the time together with no practical purpose whatsoever. The concept of "society" (Gesellschaft) is also used by Simmel in the broad (totality of human relations) and narrow (group of people in contact with each other) meanings.

The translation is from the third German edition of the book "Fundamental Problems of Sociology" (4). This is its first publication in the Russian language.

Intercourse. Example of Pure or Formal Sociology, by G. Simmel.

In any human society form can be separated from content; society in general is an interaction among individuals. Such interaction is always the consequence of certain trends or takes place for the sake of meeting specific objectives. Erotic instincts, business interests, religious impulses, defense or attack, game or enterprise, the desire to help or to learn or a number of other reasons motivate man to engage in activities for the sake of someone else, with someone else or against someone else, and to combine and coordinate inner conditions, i.e., to exert an influence and, in turn, to be influenced. Such reciprocal influences determine the motivating impulses and objectives held by their individual bearers which lead to the formation of a unity, of "society."

Everything present in the individual (the immediate and specific carrier of historical reality) as attractions, interests, objectives, aspirations or mental conditions and emotions, that which is shaped under the influence of others or which contributes to perceiving such influences, I consider content, i.e., the matter of socialization. In itself, this matter within which life takes place and which contains its motivations is actually not social. Hunger, love, work, religiousness, technology and the functions and results of mental activities are not directly social; they become such only to the extent to which they reorganize the isolated existence of individuals into specific forms of coexistence covered by the common concept of interaction. Consequently, socialization is a form of realization which uses an infinite

number of means and in which, on the basis of a variety of sensory or ideal, instantaneously transient or lengthy, conscious or subconscious, causally determined or teleological defined motives and interests, the individuals create a special unity within which such motivations and interests find their embodiment.

One of the most important aspects of spiritual activities is related to this. Whenever practical needs and relations motivate people through the powers of the mind, the will, emotional emotions and creative reasons to rework material drawn from reality and to give it shapes consistent with objectives in life (it is only in such forms that such material becomes accessible to our influence), suddenly such forces and interests find themselves separated from life, from the very same life from which they came and to which they owe their existence. Certain types of energy are released and become autonomous, no longer related to the object to the shaping of which they contributed, thus making it obedient to the objectives of life. Now they "play" within themselves and for themselves. They grab and create matter which now is nothing but a means of their self-realization.

Thus, for example, initially all knowledge is a means of struggle for existence; awareness of the true situation is highly important in safeguarding and developing life. The appearance of science confirms that knowledge was separated from practical objectives and became a value unto itself, independently selecting its subject, changing it in accordance with its own needs and asking no questions other than those which bring it self-satisfaction. Furthermore, the shaping of concrete and abstract realities, streamlined in terms of their spatial structure rhythm and sound, significance and hierarchy, is determined above all by practice requirements. However, the moment these forms become self-seeking and acquire the right and force within themselves to choose and create for their own sake rather than for the sake of blending with life we are faced with art which is entirely distinct from life and which takes from life only that which it needs and which it reworks. Yet the forms within which it "operates" and of which it consists, so to say, have developed in accordance with the requirements and dynamics of life.

The same type of turn determines the essence of the law as well. Social necessity forces or legitimizes specific types of individual behavior which are considered pertinent and are initially adopted exclusively for reasons of expediency. However, their meaning becomes quite different with the appearance of the law, at which point they are observed only because they are motivated and supported by the law and even despite the type of life which triggered and dictated them: fiat justitia, pereat mundus. Consequently, although a behavior consistent with the law is rooted in the objectives of social life, in its pure aspect the law itself has no "objective" whatsoever. It is no longer a means but, conversely, it determines the means of organizing life by itself, regardless of whether or not a superior body has legalized it.

In this case the most obvious feature is a 180-degree turn, from defining the forms of life through its matter to defining the matter of life with forms which have reached a value-determining level, generally speaking representing

a turn toward which we ascribe as a game. The real forces, needs and impulses of life have created the type of expedient forms of human behavior which subsequently, in the course of the game or, rather, in their quality as a game have acquired an autonomous content: hunting, trapping, physical and mental training, competition, risk, relying on luck, etc. All of this has abandoned the flow of pure life and broken with its matter (which actually gave a serious nature to this feature of life) and, having acquired an independent reality, has begun to select or create objects in which it preserves itself and finds its pure reflection. Hence the attractiveness of games but also the symbolic meaning which distinguishes them from pure entertainment. Hence also the analogy between games and art. In both cases the forms developed by the reality of life have founded kingdoms autonomous in terms of life. Their depth and power are explained by the fact that thanks to their origin they remain charged with life. Wherever they have been deprived of it they turn into pure entertainment. Their meaning and essence lie precisely and exclusively in the uncompromising turn thanks to which they have freed themselves from the forms dictated by expediency and the matter of life and themselves have become the objective and matter of their own dynamics, perceiving only the realities which are consistent with the new direction and can be manifested in their own lives.

The same process occurs in the separation between the content and form of social existence. "Society" per se is the type of being involving coexistence, alliances or enmities in which material or individual contents and interests acquire or preserve their shape thanks to a specific attraction or objective. These forms acquire their own life and begin to exist separately from their roots, for their own sake and for the charm which they radiate with this separation. This precisely is the phenomenon of intercourse. Naturally, associations based on economic reasons or clans and the establishment of religious communities or gangs of robbers are always the result of special circumstances or interests. However, as though aside from all possible contents which lead to various forms of socialization, a certain feeling of satisfaction exists derived from the very fact of socialization, a feeling of the value of socialization as such, an attraction for precisely that form of existence which sometimes looks for a real content which would motivate one or another specific case of socialization. In the same manner that a creative impulse "extracts" from an object its form and molds a separate form, that precise impulse, like a tendency toward pure communication, extracts from the reality of social life the pure process of socialization and takes it as something valuable and desirable, thus constituting that which we know as intercourse in the narrow meaning of the term.

It is hardly an accident and it follows even from the use of the word that in any intercourse, including the most naturalistic, providing, naturally, that it has been interpreted and is firm, that the form is of particular importance, for it means the interaction of elements, thanks to which they form an entity; if the specific vitally expedient motivations to communicate are eliminated, pure form, a free form, an eternally acting interconnection among individuals will become particularly strong and effective.

Due to the fact that intercourse correlates with reality on a purely formal basis, in the course of its development we do not have to surmount the

resistance of the latter. However, always present in intercourse (the more present the more developed it is) is a symbolic game of vital forces and their meaning which a superficial rationalism usually seeks merely in specific contents and if no such contents are found the intercourse is simply ignored. We must point out that in many or perhaps even in all European languages the term society means simply an interconnection among communicating people. The state, industry, or any social unity established on the basis of expediency will always be considered a "society." For those who communicate are a "society in general" without any additions, for they are a pure form of all simply characterized "societies," deprived of any particular content. They embody society as a kind of abstract picture the entire content of which is presented in the pure play of forms.

If we use sociological categories, intercourse could be described as a game form of socialization and *mutatis mutandis* as something related to its own specific content in the manner in which a work of art is related to reality. It is within the framework of intercourse that an important or, if you wish, a most important problem of society acquires a solution, possible only within this type of framework: what is the extent of the significance and the role of the individual in terms of social surroundings? Since intercourse in its pure aspect does not presume any material target, content or result outside the aspect of intercourse as such, its nature is defined by qualities of the individual, such as courtesy, upbringing, warmth, charm, etc. However, it is precisely because here everything is based on the personality that it is unable to manifest its individuality quite sharply and emphatically. When real interests, combining or clashing, organize a social form, this in itself guarantees that the individual will be able to demonstrate his features and exclusivity to a certain extent. The nature of the intercourse demands a limitation of self-aggrandizement and self-enhancement of the individual, without which coexistence is impossible. That is precisely why tactfulness is so important, for it helps the individual to control his behavior. It could be said that the specific function of tactfulness is to limit individual impulses, self-promotion and internal and external pretentiousness and the imposition of restrictions wherever the rights of others are affected.

In this case we note a curious sociological phenomenon. The features which the person has by virtue of objective structures remain unaffected in intercourse. Wealth and public position, erudition and fame or the exceptional capabilities and merits of an individual should play no role whatsoever in intercourse; at best they may appear as pale shades of the type of immaterial nature which reality acquires when it comes across a socioartistic intercourse. Introducing in intercourse something deeply personal--strictly personal problems and disappointments, high spirits or depression, or the lightness or darkness of the depth of life is inappropriate and tactless (for it violates the rule of interaction). Such elimination of such personality features could go to extremes: for example, a lady would not attend a close friendly meeting in which one or several men are present wearing the same type of décolletage which would be considered perfectly normal and appropriate in "society." In society she is less involved as an individual and can allow herself the impersonal freedom of wearing a mask, for she is not just herself but merely an element of a formally existing commonality. Man as such is an

as yet unshaped complex of contents, forces and possibilities; under the conditions of a fluctuating life he becomes a differentiated object with strictly defined boundaries. From the economic viewpoint, as a politician, a member of a family or a member of a profession he is, one could say, an ad hoc structured product; his life material is animated by a specific idea and acquires a specific form whose relatively independent content, naturally, is supported by the energy of the common source which, however, is not directly manifested--the I. In this sense, in intercourse the person acts as a characteristic phenomenon not found in other contexts. On the one hand, he has eliminated all meaningful characteristics of his own personality and engages in such intercourse on the basis of capabilities, motivations and interests inherent in him as a person in general. Furthermore, this very structure imposes a ban on anything profoundly personal and subjective. Modesty, which could be described as a first requirement in communicating with others, is equally necessary toward one's own I; the violation of this rule could distort intercourse as an artistic form of society into sociological naturalism. Consequently, we can speak of the upper and lower "intercourse thresholds" of an individual. In both cases, whether it is a question of an interaction based on objective content and target or one in which the personality and subjective features of each of the participants are absolutely manifested, such intercourse is no longer the central form-shaping principle and begins to play a formal intermediary role.

We could tack the positive form-shaping motif to such negative definitions of the nature of intercourse. Kant formulated the following postulate as a principle of law: everyone must have as much freedom as permissible from the viewpoint of someone else's freedom. If we acknowledge that the attraction for intercourse makes it a source or substance, we find the principle which constitutes such intercourse: everyone must satisfy his desire for it to the extent to which this is compatible with precisely the same degree of satisfaction of this inclination in everyone else. In other terms, if we speak not of an inclination but of its results, the principle of intercourse would be the following: everyone must offer the others the same maximum of values in intercourse (happiness, lightness, liveliness), compatible with the maximum amount of such values obtained by himself. In the way that law based on Kant's postulate symbolizes democracy, this principle indicates the democratic structure of any type of intercourse which, naturally, can be achieved by a social stratum only within itself and which frequently makes interaction among members of different social classes conflicting and painful. In this case equality appears as a result of the elimination of anything related to the personality, on the one hand, and anything meaningful, i.e., that which is used until its material has been socialized and which is subsequently rejected in developing the intercourse, on the other.

The democracy of intercourse among equals is a game democracy. Such intercourse creates, if one wishes, an ideal sociological world in which the happiness of the individual is directly related to that of others and no one is essentially able to achieve his aspirations at the expense of someone else's inability to do so, which, in a number of life situations, although ensured by the dominant ethical imperative, is not guaranteed directly by their own internal principle.

The world of intercourse--the only one where democracy among equals is possible--is an artificial world created by those who would like to achieve an absolutely pure ideal of interaction, deprived of any unbalancing material emphasis. If we assume that in the course of such intercourse we become "people," what we are in reality, free from anything which burdens our life, and from ardent enthusiasms and disappointments, from "too much" or "too little," i.e., anything which in real life is distorted by our concept of ourselves, it would mean that the contemporary life is overburdened by subjective content and objective necessity. By discarding them within the range of our intercourse, we assume that we return to our natural personal way of life. However, we forget that in the course of intercourse man is less an individual with his characteristics and in his natural completeness than a stylized individual restricted by stipulations. In the past, when man did not have to renounce such a large number of objective and essential features, the form was oriented more clearly toward the personality: individual behavior was far more ceremonious and subject to more rigid and strictly supraindividual control. The narrowing of the personality range to the level to which the individual acquired equal interaction with other individuals led to the opposite extreme: courtesy became a specific type of social behavior. In this case the strong outstanding personality not only placed the weakest one on the same level but even presumed that such a personality was more valuable than himself. Whereas socialization in general means interaction, in this case we are dealing with its purest and, so to say most stylized variant--interaction among equals, in precisely the same way that symmetry and balance are the most outstanding forms of the artistic stylizing of visual elements. Consequently, since intercourse is a socialization accomplished in accordance with the principle of the art or game of abstraction, it requires the purest, the most transparent and the most accessible type of interaction--interaction among equals; it must take place among participants who are deprived of content and have had their internal and external manifestations modified to such an extent that in the course of such intercourse they act as equals and each one of them acquires the values of such intercourse only providing that the others acquire them in precisely the same amount.

This is a game in which it is "considered" that all are equal and in which everyone is owed special respect.

To the same slight extent as a lie in art or a game, in which a deviation from reality takes place, the latter may be also considered a lie. A lie appears at the moment when the actions and speeches of the communicants deal with prospects and events in real life in precisely the same manner that a painting lies by pretending to offer a panoramic representation of reality. That which within the framework of specific form of interaction takes place as a game is legitimate, accurate and streamlined becomes false if such intercourse is merely an appearance while the purpose pursued has nothing to do with it. Naturally, this can easily happen as a result of the way social intercourse becomes intertwined with the fabric of real life.

It becomes clear in this connection that the concept of "intercourse" includes everything which is usually described as a sociological game form and,

above all, a game for its own sake, which has always held an important position in intercourse. The expression "social game" is extremely comprehensive. All existing forms of interaction and socialization, such as an aspiration for power, trade, founding of parties, separation, accidental meetings and partings, alternating rivalry and partnership, traps and revenge, which have a meaning in actual life, live within the game their own life based only on the experiencing of such functions for their own sake and on a self-sufficient basis. For even when the game is played for money it is not money, which could be acquired through different means, that determines its specifics; what makes the game attractive to the true gambler is the dynamics and the element of chance of this sociologically important form of activity. A social game is of a profoundly double nature: it is not only "played" in a society which is external in terms of the game and which carries it, so to say, within itself, but "society" itself is the stake.

This view may be applied to the sociology of the sexes: eroticism develops its own game form--flirtation, which finds in social intercourse its easiest, most transparent but also most complete expression.* If all erotic problems of the opposite sexes revolve around promises or rejections (naturally, their objects are infinitely varied and in terms of their nature not only are they not radically physiological but in general may have nothing to do with physiology), the nature of women's coquetry is the stress which is created between a hint of a promise and a hint of rejection, attracting the man without making a definite promise and rejecting him without, however, depriving him of hope. The charm of the coquette is mainly that while hinting to the man that she is about to keep her promise she also does not take the whole thing seriously; she lives somehow between a "yes" and a "no" without making a final decision.

It is this freedom from a burdensome simple content and the rigid requirements of reality that gives coquetry its youthfulness, lightness and idealization, in connection with which we have the right to speak not only of the "means" of coquetry but of the "art" of it. However, as practical experience indicates, in order for coquetry to grow on the soil of intercourse as an indoor plant it must meet with an entirely clear response in the behavior of the male. If the male does not answer the coquetry or else, conversely, becomes its victim, dragging himself wimpily behind the half-yes and half-no behavior, coquetry cannot assume its own form resembling social intercourse. It will lack the free interaction and equivalency of elements which the basic law of intercourse requires. They will appear only when the man aspires precisely to play this free game in which any erotic determination is merely an echo, a remote symbol and in which the charm of hints and preliminaries exists for its own sake rather than as a consequence of inclinations or fears. In its most charming aspect, coquetry reigns on the highest levels of social intercourse. It has gone beyond the reality of erotic wishes, promises or rejections. It is satisfied with the fluctuating game of nuances and reflections of reality. Wherever the latter exist or act concealed, the event itself becomes a matter of two realities; in the sociological area of

* I have analyzed the nature of coquetry in detail in another book--"Philosophical Culture" (Simmel, G. "Philosophische Kultur" [Philosophical Culture]. Collected Essays. Leipzig, Kroner, 1911).

intercourse, where it is not the center of life of the individual, coquetry becomes an entertaining or even ironical game in which eroticism is merely a pure system of interaction which has broken with its own material or strictly individual content. Whereas the social forms are lost in social intercourse, in coquetry the forms of eroticism are lost. This is an essential similarity which presupposes the latter as an element of the former.

In the final account, the extent to which social intercourse represents an abstraction (significant in terms of its content only) of sociological forms of interaction, ascribing them some kind of ghostly body, is detected, eventually, in the universal carrier of all human communities--conversation. The main feature here may be expressed with a very banal view that in life people discuss seriously something they would like to communicate, to explain or to interpret; in intercourse the conversation is self-seeking but not in the naturalistic meaning of the term as blabbering but in the sense of the art of self-entertainment obeying its own artistic laws; the object of a conversation-intercourse is the inevitable bearer of charm which radiates from the live exchange of replicas as such. All forms are embodied in this exchange: argument or acceptance by both parties of specific norms, making peace by compromising or establishing common convictions, grateful acceptance of the new or its rejection whenever reciprocal understanding is impossible. All of these are forms of conversational interaction which in reality serve innumerable contents and objectives of human activities but which here become significant for their own sake, i.e., in the game of relations which they assist, binding and releasing, winning or surrendering, ascribing and obtaining; in this case the ambiguity of the "self-entertainment" is obvious.

In order for the game to be self-sufficient, consisting merely of a form, it should have no content, for if the discussion is targeted on an object it is no longer an intercourse, it turns around its teleological axis, for finding the truth, which could become its content, has become its object. It is precisely this kind of talk which destroys itself as an intercourse if it converts into a serious argument. The form of the joint search for the truth, the form of the argument may be preserved; however, it must not allow any serious content in its substance, in the same manner that the object in a painting should not be three-dimensional. This is not to say that the content of such an intercourse-conversation is unsubstantial; on the contrary, it should be interesting, captivating and even important. In no case, should it become the target of the discussion; its objective result is unessential. Therefore, two different conversations may appear to be absolutely identical; however, based on its inner meaning, one of them will be an intercourse as long as its content, however, valuable and attractive in itself it may be, becomes suitable and purposeful only in connection with the functional target of the conversation as such, only in connection with the form of speech interaction with its specific and self-determining significance.

Therefore, the ability to engage in a quick and easy change of topics is inherent in a conversation-intercourse by virtue of its very nature, for the object here is merely a means while changeability and randomness are generally inherent in the opposites of firmly established objectives. Therefore, it is only in intercourse that the conversation becomes self-seeking. For

For thanks to the fact that it is at least two-sided (if we exclude "self-respect," this purest and loftiest form of two-sidedness of all forms known to sociology), it is a relationship which, if one may say so, pursues nothing but its own self and which, consequently, that which in a different case becomes merely a form of interaction, here becomes its self-sufficing content.

Even telling a story or a joke, frequently for the sake of filling a "gap" in the conversation, could become a demonstration of fine tactfulness in which all the motifs of intercourse may be displayed. For it is above all thanks to tactfulness that a conversation rests either on individual intimate grounds or on the side of the purely personal, i.e., of anything not included in the category of intercourse. The objective factor is involved not for the sake of its content but for the sake of the interest of communicating; its expression and perception are not self-seeking but a pure means of enlivening, of self-understanding, of developing a common awareness within the communicating circle. Consequently, here we have not only a content accepted identically by everyone but also a gift of social intercourse by the individual, a talent invisible to the one who has it: a story told in such a refined way that the personality of the storyteller disappears entirely; the story itself is perfectly balanced and rests on a type of ethic of intercourse in which the subjective and the individual as well as the objective and the meaningful blend perfectly into a pure form of intercourse.

Hence the conclusion that intercourse also provides a gay form to ethical forces within a specific society. The most important of the ethical problems facing society are how to motivate the individual to become part of a universal relation and to live for its sake; in turn, how to see to it that such a relation may give to the individual values and ideals; how to turn the life of the individual into a means for attaining the objectives of the entity and the life of the entity a means for achieving the objectives of the individual. The seriousness and, furthermore, the tragic nature of these problems is translated by intercourse into a symbolic game in its ghostly kingdom in which there are no obstacles, for ghosts cannot hinder each other. Furthermore, if the ethical task of socialization is to transmit one's own inner relations based on the integral nature of life through combination or separation of elements, as accurately and truthfully as possible, in the course of intercourse such freedoms and adequacies are released from their own specific meaningful conditions; in "society" groups form and break down and conversation within them flows on an impulse and at random, intensifying, spreading out or drying out, like a miniaturized depiction of the social ideal which could be described as freedom of contact. If a commonality must be a phenomenon strictly consistent with its internal reality and if the latter is eliminated in this case, the only thing which remains and lives is a phenomenon which, through its game obeying the laws of its own form and beauty, aesthetically reproduces the proportionality which is ethically necessary in serious reality.

This overall assessment of intercourse is clearly manifested in specific historical processes. In early German Middle Ages, knight brotherhoods, created by friendly patrician families, existed. The religious and practical objectives of these associations disappeared quite rapidly and already by the

14th century the knights' interests and behavior were their only meaningful characteristic. They too disappeared soon afterward and the associations remained only as associations of members of the aristocracy for purposes of social intercourse.

It is obvious that in this case intercourse was the "residue" of a meaningfully defined society, a "residue" which, having lost its content, embodies merely a form or forms of commonality. The fact that the structure of such forms indicates merely the inner nature of the game or, on a deeper level, art, is confirmed even more clearly with the example of the court under the Ancient Regime. Here, as a result of the disappearance of specific vital meanings which were "extracted" so to say by the French aristocracy from the king's power, characteristic forms developed in which class consciousness was crystallized--forms whose trend, definition and intensity of which were dictated only by intercourse without being symbols or functions of real relations or forces of personalities or institutions. The rules of court etiquette became self-seeking. They no longer indicated any content but included specific laws, similar to the laws of art, significant only from the viewpoint of art without trying to represent the actual nature of a model which can exist outside art.

In these phenomena intercourse assumed its most complete and autonomous manifestation which, however, had come close to resembling a caricature. Naturally, its essence is to remove reality from actual human relations and, based on the laws of form, to promote its aerial kingdom, which is flexible within itself but rejects any objective outside itself. The profound source feeding this flexible kingdom should be sought not in self-defining forms but in the lives of real individuals, in their experience and aspirations and in the completeness of their impulses and beliefs. Only intercourse is a symbol of life as it is reflected in the flow of an easily learned game. It is precisely for this reason, however, that it is a symbol of life, the feature of which changes only to the extent to which this is required by the distance covered in terms of the game; in precisely the same way the freest and most imaginative art, infinitely distant from any duplication of reality, should maintain profound and true ties with reality unless it wishes to become meaningless and false. For art as well stands above life. By cutting the ties linking it to life's reality, from which, incidentally, it weaves its entirely different stylized fabric, intercourse stops being a game and becomes meaningless entertainment with meaningless forms, a lifeless system proud of its lifelessness.

It is clear, therefore, that complaints relative to the superficial nature of social contacts are both fair and unfair. One of the most interesting phenomena in our spiritual existence is that if we remove some elements from the integrity of life and build of them our own kingdom governed not by the laws of the entity but by its own laws, such a kingdom, totally separated from the life of the entity, could, naturally, establish its meaninglessness and emptiness. However, changing under the influence of some factors which do not enter into consideration, precisely under the condition of its separation from immediate reality, it could prove more completely, purposefully and accurately the most profound nature of the latter compared to attempts to

understand it realistically and from a close distance. Therefore, a life which develops according to its own norms, within which social interactions communicate, may prove to be, depending on the means of perception, either a formal and meaningless lifelessness, or a symbolic game, in the aesthetic brilliance of which the most refined sublimated dynamics of social existence is transmitted.

We feel and observe in art, in the symbolism of church and religious life and in the systems of scientific formulas that the characteristics of areas of pure appearance, and the combination of selected surface elements are linked to a profound and integral complete reality. Such ties are sometimes difficult to explain. However, it is precisely thanks to their visibility that they turn out to be the bearers and representatives of direct, real and basic existence.

This makes understandable the alleviating and resolving influence of many such kingdoms consisting of pure forms of existence: although we are set free by life it is within them that we live. The contemplation of our inner sea frees us not despite but precisely because it is within it--in its ebb and flow, in the play and break of the waves, that life is reproduced in the simplest possible manifestation of its dynamics, a life alien to experienced reality, the hardships of isolated destinies, the profound meaning of which seems nevertheless somehow intertwined within this simple picture; in precisely the same manner, for example, art reveals the secret of life: we are liberated not because we close our eyes and turn away from life but because within the seemingly self-sufficient play of forms we build and experience thoughts and influences of most profound reality in the absence, however, of reality itself.

Intercourse would not have such a liberating and inspiring impact on many profound people who feel the pressure of life had it been merely an escape from life, a brief lifting of the oppression of taking life seriously. Naturally, it could have a negative meaning. It could be a convention, a lifeless alternation of formulas; this was frequently the case in the Ancient Regime, in which the big threat of reality inspired a simple rejection, the desire to fence oneself in, to save oneself from serious life. However, the liberation and release which the profound person finds in intercourse has a different reason: interconnections and exchange of influences which encompass all tasks and burdens of life here become an artistic game which is both lofty and refined and in which, as though from afar, come the echoes of the real content of life the oppressive nature of which has turned into a charm.

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DISCUSSION ON BRIGADE MANAGEMENT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 84
(signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 180-182

[Letter to the editors by engineer Yu. Ye. Pliner, Zelenodolsk, Tatar ASSR:
"How to Manage a Brigade?"]

[Text] To the editors: I read with interest P. G. Klivets's article "Conditions for the Application of Brigade Work Methods (Based on Data From Studies Conducted in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast)" (No 3, 1983). Unquestionably, the questions raised by the author are quite relevant. However, I cannot agree with some of the methodical postulates of the study conducted under P. G. Klivets's direction and, therefore, with some of his conclusions. Thus, in his analysis of Table 2 "Opinion of ITR [Engineering and Technical Workers] and line managers on the assignment of management functions under the circumstances of the brigade form of labor organization" (p 102), the author notes that not one of the 12 listed duties (planning worker assignments, drawing up pay vouchers, etc.) was described by the responders as basic for the brigade leader. (Obviously, the table is a duplication of the questionnaire and it is presumed that the brigade leader must perform more than half of what any specific function involves.) Klivets interprets the results as follows: two-thirds of the responders are foremen and senior foremen, and it is "precisely the line managers who particularly complain of excessive work loads without, however, taking the risk of assigning some of their obligations within the brigade, perhaps fearing a loss of power."

In my view, the classification of functions into basic and nonbasic is methodically erroneous and, under the conditions of the brigade contracting method, unacceptable. The obligations of the brigade leader, the foreman, the shop chief, etc., as listed in the job instructions, are the law. If the actual structure of obligations is inconsistent with the approved list said obligations must be reassigned. Above all, the existing practice of non-fulfillment or "semi-fulfillment" of any given function must be eliminated.

Klivets includes as subjects of management the brigade leader, the foreman and the administration. In the linear-functional type of management, which is also the most widespread in our industry, the immediate administrator in terms of the brigade leader is the foreman, and in terms of the latter, the shop chief. Yet according to Table 2 it is the shop chiefs and their deputies who are responsible for 57.7 percent of all planning and norming, 45.5 percent of

planning workers' assignments, 33.8 percent of ensuring the workers with raw materials and parts and 6.9 percent of making pay vouchers. Is this realistic? I believe that it is not.

It is also possible to assume that in terms of foremen and senior foremen the tally clerk, the job assigner, the dispatcher, the norming technician and other managers of functional shop subdivisions act as administrators. In the article it is the shop ITR who are described as the administration proper. Obviously, the consolidated concept of "administration" was included in the questionnaire with a view to simplifying the answer. In our view, this confused the responders somewhat and adversely affected data reliability.

Furthermore, in submitting to the responders a list of managerial obligations to be distributed among the subjects of management -- brigade leader, foreman and the administration -- the authors actually ignore the fact that their functions are limited by the range of their areas of competence (see, for instance, "Standard Regulation on the Production Brigade and the Brigade Leader," confirmed by decree of the USSR State Committee for Labor and the AUCCTU Secretariat, dated 15 December 1975) (1). The result is that, for example, problems related to the use of new technology are resolved on the same level by the brigade leader, the foreman and the administration, the only difference among them being the extent of their participation in the process.

With the application of the brigade contracting method the redistribution of functions affects essentially to foreman and the brigade leader. The range of their respective obligations has not become established as yet and they must perform some of their production functions jointly. In our view, the answers given by the responders, as mentioned at the beginning of this letter, can be explained not with the foremen's and senior foremen's "fear of losing power" but by the fact that in filling the table they obviously ascribed to themselves the fulfillment of one function or another, the moment they felt even the slightest doubt in this respect.

We used in our study a somewhat different method (for virtually identical purposes) which allowed us to obtain better information. The responders were asked to name which of the obligations listed in the form does the brigade leader perform by himself, which are performed together with the foreman and which are within the competence of the foreman alone. The questionnaire was given to brigade leaders and foremen and (in their quality as experts) to senior foremen and shop chiefs. The coefficient of organizational functions performed by the brigade leader was computed on the basis of the answers received by brigade, sector and shop. This enabled us to determine the degree of shifting obligations from foreman to brigade leader. The results of the study were discussed at shop brigade leader councils, practical foremen conferences and conferences with shop chiefs. Recommendations were also drafted on changing the work obligations of brigade leaders and foremen as a result of the application of the brigade contracting method. As a result of the transfer of a certain number of functions from the foreman to the brigade leader, the former gains a certain amount of spare working time. One of the topical research problems currently studied is how to use it more efficiently.

I hope that the above considerations will be of use in debating the question of how to apply the brigade contracting method.

Answer by P. G. Klivets, candidate of economic sciences, Dnepropetrovsk:

Paradoxical though this may seem, the remarks expressed by Yu. Ye. Pliner on the subject of my article confirm, more than anything else, that we think alike on the subject of one of the main problems relative to the organization of brigade work: under the conditions of the new method part of the administrative functions must inevitable and indeed do shift from the foreman to the brigade leader. Allow me, in this connection, to explain in greater detail the nature of the criticized views.

The conclusion that most foremen fear a "loss of power" is confirmed not only by the results of the survey but also the data of interviews and talks which were either taken down in writing or recorded on tape. Unquestionably, the views held by the foremen were also influenced by the opinions of the shop heads, who were in favor of increasing the rights of brigade leaders. In our view, therefore, it is entirely justified to speak if not of "fear," in any case of a circumspect attitude on the part of the line personnel concerning the reassignment of managerial functions.

Nor can I agree with my opponent's claim that the data in the table indicate that 57.7 percent of planning and norming duties and 6.9 percent of voucher drafting are the work of shop managers. He has obviously interpreted as factual the view of surveyed ITR as to a possible assignment of managerial functions. The latter was taken into consideration in the preparations for and conduct of the study. Thus, in the course of the survey we realized that a significant percentage of the administrative personnel in shops where brigades had been established continued to apply the old work methods, considering the new obligations secondary and fulfilling them reluctantly. That is why I entirely support Pliner's conclusion that if following the organization of brigades the structure of functional obligations stops being consistent with the approved list, a reassignment of managerial functions becomes necessary.

The answers of more than 500 surveyed ITR proved that under the conditions of the brigade organization of labor most of them presumed that their functions would remain unchanged. Workers as well were asked about possible reassignments of managerial obligations. These and other data were discussed by expert groups of brigade leaders, foremen, etc. with the help of the Delphy method and practical game scenarios. The results were used to substantiate recommendations on improving plant regulations and standards, which included the formulation of the "Brigade" Comprehensive Target Program currently being used in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast.

Finally, let us consider the remarks on the concepts used in the article. I agree that the text "not one of the enumerated functions was listed by the majority of responders as essential for the brigade leader" implies the conclusion that some functions may be "nonessential." The term "essential" was a poor choice. However, it was hardly possible to find a better term in this case (such as "mandatory" or "necessary"). Obviously, the question

should have been rephrased. Unfortunately, this stylistic inaccuracy became the subject of an argument on a subject on which I agree with Pliner.

As to the term "administration," its use in the survey indeed oversimplified the situation. In the past as well we have repeatedly come across differing understandings of the term by responders. It was used in the survey as being the most frequently found in publications and daily use. Incidentally, the terms "administration," "administrative apparatus" and "personnel" are used synonymously in labor economics textbooks and manuals. Usually their meaning is not explained. To a certain extent this gap is filled by the theory of management, which singles out three basic categories of management workers: managers, specialists and technical personnel. They are also classified as line and functional personnel (2). This classification, however, is hardly suitable in mass surveys. The apparent solution is, first of all, to use the now common term "administration," but always to explain to the responders the meaning which the researchers invest in it; secondly, to provide a detailed enumeration of managerial positions in the questionnaires. I believe that the compilation and publication of a sociological dictionary would greatly help to upgrading the terminological accuracy of surveys.

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NEED FOR PROFESSIONAL PLANT SOCIOLOGISTS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 84
(signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 182-183

[Letter to the editors by Zh. S. Trostanovskiy, senior scientific associate at the Informelektro Sectorial Social Management Problems Department, USSR Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry, Moscow: "Plant Sociological Services Need Professionals"]

[Text] The press has often raised the question of plant sociologists. Their numbers are growing but such positions are still frequently held by unsuitable and incompetent people. Thus, there are 186 sociological services in the electrical equipment industry (297 associates) staffed by hydrologists, historians, construction engineers, metallurgists, psychologists, educators, planners or zootechnicians -- any one at all but not a sociologist.

It is not surprising that people employed outside their profession do not stay long at their jobs: cadre turnover among the personnel of sociological services is very high. Thus, in a single industrial association -- Soyuzelektroapparat -- it was 38 percent by the end of 1982. A paradoxical situation has developed: sociologists are forced to study the reasons for their colleagues' turnover, which is explained not only with the lack of professional training but also the rather low status and wages of plant sociologists, short paid leaves, etc.

We investigated the work of the sociological services in the sector and determined that specialists familiar with the production process and trained in philosophy, psychology and economics cope better with the work. Consequently, as long as the higher schools have not organized the training of sociologists, while sociological services continue to be established and expanded, initially the setting of clear criteria for the selection of such personnel could be of some help. Naturally, however, the main question of the professional training of such specialists so greatly needed in industry, based on a firm union-wide program, remains unanswered. The usefulness of unsuitable people who engage in social research is minimal, not to mention the fact that they sometimes put this science in a compromising position.

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DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOLOGICAL WORK AT ENTERPRISES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 84
(signed to press 16 Apr 84) p 183

[Letter to the editors by V. V. Lobanov, Moscow: "End Result of the Sociologist's Work"]

[Text] I have been following closely the debate in your journal on the subject of the sociological service and would like to share my views on the matter.

The simple truth is frequently ignored that it was not sociology which went to the enterprises but that industry developed a need for sociologists. The enterprise's "order" today is that of perfecting social management. I believe that it is only within this context that the question of the place and functions of plant sociologists should be viewed. With improvements in social planning the center of their work shifted to the study of social processes in the collectives. It became clear soon afterwards, however, that a situation in which the end product of the sociologists' work consists of practical recommendations suited neither production workers nor the sociologists themselves. It became necessary to include sociologists in the social management system and to enable them directly to influence processes within the labor collective.

In my view, the following problems must be resolved in order to develop sociological work at enterprises and to include sociologists in the organizational structure:

First, the social management must be centralized. Many enterprises have a position for deputy director in charge of social problems and cadres. It is precisely he who must assume charge of all social subdivisions: cadres, technical training, housing-communal department, etc. Second, the specific social functions of the different subdivisions must be codified in legal documents. Third, the rights and obligations of the sociological service under the deputy director in charge of social problems must be clearly defined. Fourth, the working people must become involved in sociological work (useful experience in this respect has been acquired at the Moscow Machine-Tool Building Enterprise imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze. Here a public opinion study group has been organized, whose members assist in sociological research. Temporary social planning commissions are set up to formulate annual and

5-year plans. A permanent commission for social problems, which supervises administration activities operates under the party committee). Fifth, the theoretical level of sociologists' training must be upgraded.

Such are 'n our view, the primary problems the solution of which will have a positive influence on the effectiveness of enterprise sociological services.

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QUALIFICATION TESTS DEMANDED

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 84
(signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 183-184

[Letter to the editors by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A. V. Sakhno,
Moscow: "Test for Specialists"]

[Text] To the editors: I suggest that the question of qualification tests for holding a number of jobs requiring higher education be discussed in your journal. I acquired this idea from the study of specialized publications, experience as a teacher in VUZs and institutes for upgrading skills and long-time contacts with institute graduates.

The number of university graduates in the country has increased sharply over the past 10-15 years (they number approximately 13 million). According to some scientists, one third of all specialists are mediocre or even quite mediocre. Such workers are of no great use and in some cases, wittingly or unwittingly, cause considerable material damages. The lack of an efficient system of requirements governing the hiring or transfer of specialists which, in addition to the diploma specifications would take into consideration actual qualifications has adverse social consequences as well.

Let us also point out the following fact mentioned in the press and in research projects. Some people believe a diploma to be something like a personal calling card, a document which guarantees its owner a "clean" job with an adequate salary, and a "warm" place where he does not have to work at full capacity and steadily to upgrade his professional standards.

Wage differentiations among young specialists, based on VUZ grades, would help to surmount said shortcomings and upgrade the activeness of the students in mastering the necessary knowledge, skills and habits. Without changing the overall amount, a salary for a diploma with an "excellent" rating would be 40 rubles higher, for example, than for an "average" rating and 30 rubles for a "good" rating. Each 3 years the specialist would take a qualification test (production certification) on the basis of which salaries and duties would be "reapportioned" and changed.

Naturally, such steps should be accompanied by other changes related to improved quality of VUZ training, the formulation of qualification test rules

and methods, etc. Finally, a thorough study should be made of the possible social consequences of the various alternatives. Unquestionably, the decisive word in this case would be that of the sociologists.

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DEVIANT BEHAVIOR STUDIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 84
(signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 184-185

[Letter to the editor by A. V. Rusakov, Moscow: "Study of the Profound Reasons for Deviant Behavior"]

[Text] To the editors: I read with great interest works published in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA on problems of strengthening legality, law and order and discipline. Crime prevention and the struggle against delinquency are among the key practical science problems requiring interdisciplinary studies.

"In the study of social deviations," V. N. Kudryavtsev notes, "we must determine above all the overall picture of their dissemination in society" (No 2, 1983). However, the overall picture of deviant behavior may not be reduced to simply taking notice of the existing situation. We must determine the profound reasons and trends relative to one type of deviation or another in connection with the economic, social and cultural changes in the way of life of the different social groups and strata. Unfortunately, some articles on such problems, carried by your journal, are schematic and incomplete. For example,, V. I. Litvinov's very interesting article on group juvenile delinquency is limited merely to determining the trend of adolescent criminality. The author has ignored the key problem of seeking effective means of surmounting a consumerist attitude toward life, for deviations from the norms of the socialist way of life are inseparably related to certain objective (objective, precisely!) difficulties and contradictions in contemporary social developments and it would be a simplification to explain them merely as vestiges of the past and the nefarious influence of bourgeois ideology.

I believe that it would be expedient for the editors of your journal to pay greater attention to the economic area of activities, pertaining not merely to public production but to the economic behavior of the individual as well. In particular, extremely few works deal with the economic activities of the family and its income and consumption structure. In our view, the study of the private auxiliary plot, which frequently stops being auxiliary in the direct meaning of the term and assumes a petty commodity producing nature, is of particular interest. A commodity nature in itself is not a shortcoming. However, it frequently leads to violations of the rational methods of combining such activities with the socialist distribution principle. For

example, an excessive market "markup" substantially exceeds the socially necessary labor outlays, which turns into a redistribution of part of the customer's income in favor of the seller. Naturally, changes in the role and place of the LPKh [Private Auxiliary Plot] in material production, particularly in the distribution area, if related to unearned income, adversely affects social behavior (circumventing the regulations governing the kolkhoz market, bribing officials, reducing interest in work in the public farm and exerting a negative influence of the enrichment of some individuals on public opinion).

It would be simplistic to consider the LPKh a social base for antisocial phenomena. On the contrary, creating conditions for the development of auxiliary farms is an important factor not only in the implementation of the Food Program but in combining the interests of the individual worker with those of society at large. Naturally, LPKh income should be consistent with actual labor outlays and end results. How can this be attained? The scientific development of the problem is the duty of the sociologists and the journal should pay greater attention to it.

In recent years both scientists and practical workers have been paying significantly more attention to said problem. The November 1982 and June 1983 CPSU Central Committee plenums have played a great role in energizing the struggle for discipline and law and order. In implementing the party's decisions, the journal's editors have raised sharply and principle-mindedly problems of deviant behavior. Nevertheless, we would like to see in your journal not only descriptions of the social situation but also a more profound study of its reasons and suggestions aimed at the more efficient solution of problems arising in this area.

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LACK OF REFERENCE TO LENIN'S WORK QUESTIONED

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 84
(signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 185-186

[Letter to the editors by E. A. Kyuregyan, Yerevan: "Sociological Realism as a Style of Scientific Thinking"]

[Text] Dear Comrades: I read with a great deal of interest in your journal the article by academician P. N. Fedoseyev "Upgrading the Role of Sociological Science in Resolving the Problem of Building Communism" (No 2, 1983). I found particularly noteworthy the following idea expressed in the article: "The essence of a truly scientific methodology of social knowledge may be expressed in Lenin's words 'sociological realism'" (p 6). However, the article does not contain a reference to V. I. Lenin's work in which this expression was used. I would like to know where and in what connection V. I. Lenin used the term "sociological realism?"

Editorial note: V. I. Lenin referred to sociological realism as a style of thinking and method of evaluating facts of social development in his famous work "What Type of Legacy Are We Rejecting?" In arguing with the Narodniks, he noted in particular that "The lack of sociological realism...lead them toward a special way of thinking and considering social matters and problems which could be described as narrow intellectual conceit or perhaps a bureaucratic way of thinking. The Narodnik always thinks about the type of path 'we' should choose for the fatherland and what calamities would occur if 'we' direct the fatherland along a given path, and what results could 'we' achieve for ourselves by avoiding the dangers along the path followed by old-woman Europe, or if one should have 'taken what is best' from both Europe and our age-old communal system, etc., etc. Hence the total mistrust and scorn displayed by the Narodniks concerning the trends of individual social classes which are making history in accordance with their interests. Hence also the striking light-handedness with which the Narodnik plunges into all possible social limelighting (forgetting the surrounding circumstances), starting with some kind of 'organization of farm labor' and ending with the 'dying of production' through the efforts of our 'society'" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 2, p 539).

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STATUS OF ENTERPRISE SOCIOLOGISTS CONSIDERED

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 84
(signed to press 16 Apr 84) p 186

[Letter to the editors by E. P. Oshvskiy, engineer-sociologist, Klaypeda: "My Experience Indicates...."]

[Text] To the editors: I read with great interest in your journal the article "On Improving the Social Management of the Labor Collective" (No 3, 1983) by V. A. Skripkov. However, I disagree with some of its ideas. In my view, the author claims quite arbitrarily that in most cases the sociological service "becomes an appendix of the NOT [Scientific Organization of Labor]." Conclusions such as these should be supported with figures, the more so since at many large enterprises, as practical experience indicates, independent sociological services are answerable to a deputy director.

I totally disagree with the suggestion of making the sociologists part of the personnel service. The information which the author would like to obtain in this manner could be easily obtained by the sociologists through the "Cadre" ASU [Automatic Control Systems] subsystem, or through cadre department questionnaires. In my view, a talk with any hired or dismissed worker would be inexpedient, and selective surveys (10-15 percent) could be conducted in all services. Furthermore, as part of the cadre department, the sociologist would find it much more difficult to participate in the effort to introduce brigade forms of labor organization and to install new equipment, to study problems relative to improving socialist competition methods, etc.

As to social management as an enterprise management subsystem, it would seem more logical to create an independent sociological service or to include it in the production and management organization department. My practical experience of work in such a department indicates that in this case the sociologist is given the real opportunity to participate in resolving production problems and even in controlling the work of other social management services, since all production data pass through said department.

If the modern enterprise is considered not merely a functional unit within the management system but also as a module in the socioeconomic infrastructure of the town, in my view the centralized sociological service of the party gorkom should coordinate the work of sociological services. This does not mean that it should duplicate the work of sectorial centers. Many are the problems

(cadre, working people's services and leisure, environmental protection, etc.) which the enterprise cannot resolve without the support of the party gorkom and the city soviet or without cooperation with other city enterprises. In turn, the city sociological service should coordinate its work with the regional service. Experience in the creation of such services already exists (No 3, 1983, pp 72-82)...

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ACADEMIC INSTITUTES HOLD JOINT SESSION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 84
(signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 187-188

[Report: "Joint Session of Scientific Councils of Three Academic Institutes"]

[Text] A joint session of the scientific councils of the Institute of Sociological Research, the Institute of Philosophy and the Institute of the State and Law was held in Moscow in January 1984. The topic was "Development of the Social Structure of Soviet Society: "Topical Problems of Sociological Research." The meeting was chaired by Dr of Philosophical Sciences Prof V. N. Ivanov, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research director. It was attended by V. N. Kudryavtsev, director of the Institute of the State and Law and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, L. P. Buyeva, deputy director of the Institute of Philosophy, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor, members of scientific councils and scientific associates.

The main report was presented by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Prof F. R. Filippov, head of the department of social structure of Soviet society of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research, who summed up the results of a number of large-scale sociological studies and social statistical data. The speaker noted the importance of the study of the dialectics of change and reproduction of the social structure, the interconnection between base and superstructure criteria of social differences, the correlation between planned and spontaneous development of a number of social processes and the role of the differences which exceed the framework of individual classes and social groups. Particular attention was paid to the growth of internal homogeneity of the working class and the strengthening of its leading position in Soviet society, the problem of surmounting nonmechanized manual labor and the rational utilization of the growing intellectual potential of society. In this connection the possible social consequences of the forthcoming education reform were considered. The speaker also pointed out the need to improve the methods of sociological research of the social structure and to strengthen cooperation in this area among the institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences department of philosophy and law. After that F. R. Filippov answered questions from the audience.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Prof Yu. K. Pletnikov, head of the department of historical materialism, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, who opened the debates, considered the meaning of the "social" concept

in the works of Marx and V. I. Lenin and the party documents. He emphasized the importance of the "social relations" category the focal point of which are relations of equality and inequality. Attention was also paid to the need to study the problems of labor collectives and their role in perfecting social relations.

V. Ye. Guliyev, doctor of juridical sciences and head of sector at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law, discussed the connection between changes in the social structure and the development of the Soviet political system. He cautioned against any unjustified anticipation in views relative to the "nonpolitical state." He also raised the question of the political-legal homogeneity of society and the division of political and power rights. The speaker, who noted the large size of the category of workers within the administrative apparatus, expressed views on the expediency of simplifying the mechanism of functioning of this apparatus. In his view, greater attention should be paid to the influence of scientific and technical progress on the social structure.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Prof I. T. Levykin, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research, called for determining the interconnection among processes of production intensification, social integration and social groups. The development of the social structure, he pointed out, is related to changes in the quality of life and the appearance of new stereotypes and life standards.

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A. S. Frish, senior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, expressed a view on the expediency to give priority not to the social structure of the population in studies of the social structure but to a system of social relations, above all among labor collectives, and the study of the processes of strengthening socialist collectivism.

M. I. Kozyr, doctor of juridical sciences and head of sector of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law, objected to the thesis expressed in the report on the appearance of a "nonagricultural countryside." He questioned the view that interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration influence the rural social structure. He pointed out the inequality between kolkhoz and state enterprises in resolving a number of economic and social problems.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Prof V. I. Staroverov, head of sector at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research, cited statistical and sociological research data confirming the accelerated growth of the "nonagricultural countryside," and the development of an agrarian detachment of the working class. He emphasized the importance of agroindustrial integration in changing the social aspect of the countryside.

Doctor of Juridical Sciences Prof Yu. A. Tikhomirov, senior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law, discussed the need for a close study of spontaneous processes and subjective factors in the development of the social structure of Soviet society and

differences among union republics in terms of the population's social structure. This circumstance, according to him, substantially influences legal regulators and the state structure.

In his concluding speech F. R. Filippov explained his viewpoint on the controversial questions. In summing up the results of the discussions, V. N. Ivanov, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research director, noted that this joint session held by the scientific councils was fruitful and that such scientific discussions will be held in the future as well.

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CONFERENCE ON THE STUDY OF REGIONAL WAYS OF LIFE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 84
(signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 188-189

[Report by B. A. Babin and A. S. Shakir-Zade: "Characteristics of the Study of the Way of Life in the Individual Regions"]

[Text] A republic practical science conference on "Ideological Problems of Improving the Socialist Way of Life in the Light of the Resolutions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum" was held in Baku. It was attended by personnel of party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol bodies, sociologists from ministries, departments, institutes and enterprises, men of science and culture of Azerbaijan and associates of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. The attention of the participants in the conference was drawn to the tasks of further improving the Soviet way of life, the propaganda of its advantages and achievements and the fundamental values of the mature socialist society.

At the plenary session Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Prof I. T. Levykin, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research, reported on "Material and Spiritual Foundations for the Strengthening and Further Development of the Socialist Way of Life." He pointed out that the studies conducted by the USSR Academy of Sciences ISR jointly with the Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research of the CP of Azerbaijan Central Committee and the Azerbaijan Department of the Soviet Sociological Association made it possible to obtain data characterizing the condition and basic trends of development of the socialist way of life. It is worth noting that about 80 percent of the respondents named as the main factors of success and prosperity, qualities such as industriousness and conscientious attitude toward the work, purposefulness and honesty. The studies indicated that the dominant values in the minds of the Soviet people are collectivism and an active life stance.

A. F. Dashdamirov, Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member and head of the CP of Azerbaijan Central Committee propaganda and agitation department, spoke on "Sociocultural and Ideological-Moral Aspects of Perfecting the Socialist Way of Life." The struggle for the assertion of the new socialist way of life, the spiritual enhancement and enrichment of the people and the elimination of negative phenomena in behavior, traditions and way of life became the most important trends in the organizational, mass political and ideological activities of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. The speaker

noted that the entire set of economic and organizational measures taken in the 1970s, which ensured the accelerated development of all economic sectors, provided a powerful incentive for improving the socialist way of life. A radical improvement in the republic's moral and psychological climate took place.

The further proceedings of the conference took place in three sections. Problems of the management of economic and social processes, sociocultural aspects of labor, perfecting the socioclass structure and improving the material living conditions and the organization of the leisure time of the working people were discussed at the meetings of the section on "Socioeconomic Problems of the Development of the Socialist Way of Life." The participants in the conference studied in detail the practice of social planning in labor collectives and the shaping of agroindustrial complexes.

Problems of upgrading the efficiency of ideological and political education work were considered by the section on "Ideological and Mass-Political Work as the Most Important Factor in Strengthening and Further Perfecting the Socialist Way of Life." The speakers discussed the study of public opinion as a necessary prerequisite for perfecting ideological activities, socialist competition and the international upbringing of the working people. The great social significance of progressive national and new socialist traditions and holidays was noted.

Problems of the sociopolitical activeness of the working people and the vocational orientation of the young, the establishment of a healthy moral and psychological climate in small groups, the extensive spreading of legal knowledge among the citizens and the harmonious unity between material well-being and the spiritual growth of the working people were discussed in the reports submitted at the meetings of the section on "Norms and Values of the Socialist Way of Life and Their Manifestation in the Awareness and Actual Behavior of Individuals and Social Groups."

The following actively participated in the scientific discussion: Z. A. Samedzade, CP of Azerbaijan Central Committee department head and Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member; Doctors of Philosophical Sciences N. I. Alekseyev, E. P. Andreyev, D. T. Akhmedli, M. S. Dzhususov, A. A. Ragimov, V. F. Sbytov and A. S. Shakir-Zade, Doctors of Historical Sciences G. A. Guliyev and I. Z. Ismaylov, Doctors of Economic Sciences A. K. Alekserov, F. N. Alekserov and D. M. Mekhtiyev and Doctor of Juridical Sciences A. I. Asadov. Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Prof A. G. Kharchev, editor in chief of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, spoke at the concluding plenary meeting on sociological support of ideological and political education work at the Lenkoran City Party Committee. All in all some 70 reports and communications were presented at the conference.

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DISCUSSION ON SOVIET WORKING CLASS DEVELOPMENT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 84
(signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 189-191

[Report by Ye. M. Babosov and G. N. Sokolova: "Trends in the Social Development of the Working Class"]

[Text] Some 500 associates of academic sectorial institutes and sociological services of party bodies, enterprises, ministries, departments and higher educational institutions from 12 republics held an all-union scientific conference in Minsk on the characteristics and basic trends in the development of the Soviet working class.

The main speaker, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member M. N. Rutkevich (USSR Council of Ministers Academy of the National Economy) discussed the essence of the most important problems of the social development of the working class. He emphasized that the elimination of interclass, intraclass and intergroups differences is a single social process in the advancement of society. In this case the reproduction of social structures is conflicting. The socioeconomic needs of society are such that it must consist of 0.7 people engaged primarily in physical labor and 0.3 percent in mental labor. However, the existing educational system directs the young people toward VUZ training and, consequently, primarily toward intellectual labor.

The solution to this situation is to strengthen the ties between the schools and production and the labor upbringing of school students and their orientation toward professions needed by society. The speaker noted that the main social reserves in the development of the working class are related to the elimination of unskilled and underskilled labor and the establishment of new forms of labor organization and improving the microclimate in production collectives. Not only the mechanism of social equality but elements of inequality, in wages, for example, should be used in controlling this process.

In his report, Dr of Philosophical Sciences V. N. Ivanov (USSR Academy of Sciences ISI) emphasized that at the present stage in the development of Soviet society the researchers must concentrate on the study of the social structure and its main reproduction sources. The speaker emphasized the particular relevance of developing a value-normative socialist attitude toward labor, the attitude of workers toward socialist property in particular. The sociologists are faced with the most important task of formulating

recommendations to improve the sociopsychological climate in labor collectives and to help find possibilities of optimizing the production situation, strengthening discipline and creating conditions for further upgrading the labor and social activeness of the Soviet people.

Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member Ye. M. Babosov (Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences (Solid State and Semiconductor Physics Institute, BSSR Academy of Sciences) drew attention to factors contributory to the preservation of some negative forms of behavior in a worker environment: inconsistency between job qualification structures and worker cadres, pursuit of implementation of quantitative plan indicators to the detriment of quality, reinforcement of the working class essentially from the villages and, finally, discrepancy between increased requirements and level of information of Soviet workers and the level of ideological work. The comprehensive scientific analysis of these and other negative phenomena would enable us to develop significant practical recommendations and exert a correcting influence on such processes and make them consistent with the objectives and possibilities of developed socialism.

Dr of Historical Sciences L. A. Gordon (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers Movement) analyzed the problems and prospects of changes in the correlation among groups involved in different types of work. By 1980 the share of people with primary education had dropped to 19 percent while the number of underskilled jobs they usually held had declined by no more than 6 percent. This disparity in rates created a situation in which there were more jobs for underskilled workers than people willing to fill them. The accelerated reduction in the number of unattractive and unskilled jobs is intensified by the stressed situation with labor resources and the need for their efficient utilization under the conditions of a transition to intensive forms of economic growth.

Dr of Philosophical Sciences F. R. Filippov (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research) noted the interconnection between changes in the socioeconomic nature and the growth of the social activeness and improved spiritual features of the workers. Studies have indicated that a higher educational standard contributes to the mass transition from less to more complex types of work and to the energizing of the workers in the areas of labor and sociopolitical activities.

Dr of Philosophical Sciences M. Kh. Titma (Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History) discussed shortcomings in the vocational training of the workers. Such shortcomings are manifested, on the one hand, in the increased amount of rejects and the inability of a significant number of workers to handle machine tools and, on the other, the lag of their sociocultural behind their socioeconomic characteristics. The reason for the unsatisfactory training of industrial workers, the reporter emphasized, lies in the improper organization of training at school and its alienation from real life.

R. A. Gareyev, director of the Production Association imeni S. M. Kirov, who spoke on behalf of the Bashkir branch of the USSR Philosophical Society, acquainted the participants in the conference with a most interesting

experience in the practical solution of problems of integrating young workers within the labor collective. The "Attention" system, which was created in the association, helps in the sociopsychological adaptation of the novices to the nature, regimen and conditions of the work.

The conference paid considerable attention to the formulation of criteria for labor and sociopolitical activeness of the working class. Theoretical and empirical studies on this subject, the participants in the discussion emphasized, should properly take into consideration and attune the sum total of indicators reflecting the realms of labor and sociopolitical activeness.

Methodological problems assumed priority in the discussion of the study of the sociopolitical climate in the production collective and indicators of the moral development of the working class.

Problems of working class reinforcements, particularly in connection with the current discussions of the draft school reform, triggered heated debates. It was suggested that at the next all-union population census a clear demarcation should be established between general and vocational education, singling out four levels in the latter: higher, secondary specialized, secondary vocational-technical and primary vocational-technical. This would enable us to coordinate data on cadre professional training with technical production facilities and social requirements.

The recommendations which were formulated at the conference noted the need for relating more closely specific studies with the social problems of improving the economic mechanism, accelerating the social development of the working class and upgrading its role in the planned and comprehensive advancement of developed socialism.

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YOUNG SPECIALISTS' CONTRIBUTION TO SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS

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[Report: "Contribution of Young Specialists to Scientific and Technical Progress (Round-Table Meeting Between the Editors of the Journals MOLODOY KOMMUNIST and SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA)"]

[Text] As our journal already reported (No 4, 1983), a round-table meeting between the journals MOLODOY KOMMUNIST and SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA was held in the course of the All-Union Practical Science Conference on Problems of Communist Upbringing of the Young Scientific and Technical Intelligentsia, which was held in Yerevan. The meeting was conducted by N. N. Svarovskiy, propaganda department editor of MOLODOY KOMMUNIST, and Dr of Philosophical Sciences F. R. Filippov, deputy editor in chief of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA. The meeting was attended by N. S. Sleptsov, deputy head of the scientific youth department of the Komsomol Central Committee.

F. R. Filippov made a short introductory speech. He noted that it would be difficult to overestimate the tremendous scientific and technical potential of young specialists. The maximally full determination of their creative potential is an important social and national economic task. What are the means which enable us sharply to increase the contribution of young scientists and engineers to the further acceleration of scientific and technical progress? The question is complex and creates a number of problems. They include upgrading the quality of the work of higher schools, improving the planned placement of VUZ graduates and the use of young specialists in direct production work.

Dr of Philosophical Sciences S. A. Kugel' (Leningrad) emphasized the significance of the instructions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum on the qualitatively new stage in the development of production forces in our country and the close combination of scientific and technical progress with the advantages of developed socialism. In the light of this stipulation, training young scientists and engineers and organizing their work in the national economy become particularly relevant. A number of aspects of this problem have been studied quite thoroughly and the time has come to convert to practical action and to apply the scientific recommendations in planning

and managing the training and assignment of highly skilled cadres. However, so far the solution of problems such as norming the wages of young scientists and engineers, their way of life and optimizing the pace and means of social advancement, and so on, cannot be considered satisfactory. The process of the development of the personality of the young specialist and the modeling of his labor career have been insufficiently studied. Hence the existence of lengthy and occasionally fruitless discussions on the need to differentiate in cadre training, taking into consideration not only the requirements of the individual economic sectors but the personality of the specialist. With the exception of some Moscow VUZs, throughout the country some kind of "generalists" are being trained.

F. R. Filippov. How do we determine precisely who should be trained as a general engineer, who will become a production manager and who will become a scientist or VUZ teacher? Is there a reliable "instrument" which would enable us to "sort out" the future specialists?

S. A. Kugel'. General training, as a base for VUZ training does not exclude in the least any subsequent division of the students into designers and researchers, for example. According to our data, 13-14 percent of graduates of physics, chemistry and chemical-technological institutes who have received their assignments changed their fields. Many graduates (over 15 percent) choose a type of work which, in their view, is of the greatest practical significance. Therefore, although objective prerequisites for differentiation exist, they are still used randomly in most cases. A comprehensive and planned solution of this problem is necessary.

Dr of Philosophical Sciences M. Kh. Titma (Tallinn). Our studies have indicated that depending on their assignment, the labor careers of VUZ graduates develop differently. The most favorable opportunities are for those who are given the real opportunity to prove themselves comprehensively--at large plants, scientific-production associations, etc. Such opportunities are more limited for those who start at small enterprises. Finally, the least promising is the situation of graduates who begin work in small collectives which offer minimal opportunities for professional development. The institutionalized advancement of specialists is justified at large enterprises, whereas elsewhere greater rights should be granted for assuming the initiative in production units and conditions must be created for the self-assertion of the personality, above all through a greater differentiation in salaries within the same position and profession. At the same time, the responsibility of the enterprises for the proper utilization of young specialists and their professional and social development must be enhanced. This will enable us substantially to increase the contribution of young engineers to scientific and technical progress.

Docent K. G. Barbakova (Tyumen). Since 1976 we have studied scientific institutions, VUZs and industrial enterprises, including those in the extreme conditions of the Tyumen north. The result of data prove that at the start of his career the young specialist is frequently a student and a performing worker. Frequently the possibility of displaying his independent approach to the work is quite limited. The most important "instrument" in changing the

existing situation, in our view, is the socialist competition. The time is past when the idea of competition among scientific workers was questioned and considered almost absurd. This viewpoint was probably the result of the previously dominant individual nature of scientific and technical creativity. Today such creative work has become collective.

Objection from the audience: Not entirely!

K. G. Barbakova. Naturally, the individual element remains. However, the importance of precisely collective competitiveness, which enables us to energize all aspects of specialist activities, has become unquestionable today.

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences N. M. Nayborodenko (Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School Scientific Research Center). If an engineer finds himself in the position of a student what can we say about a postgraduate student? The impression is created sometimes that the postgraduate student should be discouraged from any kind of independence. The time has come to improve the selection of gifted young people for postgraduate studies immediately after VUZ graduation and to expand the training of graduate students. Stereotype and routine must be decisively eliminated in this area.

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Ya. Kochergin (Minsk). Comprehensive youth creative collectives (KTMK) are a promising means of stimulating the work of the scientific and technical intelligentsia. A survey of young specialists in scientific institutions and a number of enterprises in the Belorussian capital proved that no more one-half of the respondents participate in quality control and only 20.4 percent sponsor the application of scientific developments in the national economy. The indicators of creative activeness among KTMK members is 50 to 100 percent higher than among other workers. These organizations also play an important role in involving students in scientific research and production rationalization: in such collectives the scientific productivity of the latter is more than double compared to the rest.

Dr of Philosophical Sciences N. M. Blinov (Komsomol Central Committee Higher Party School Scientific Research Center). The contribution of young specialists to scientific and technical progress is defined not only in terms of professional knowledge but their general culture, including in the political, economic, moral and artistic areas. A specialist must possess high civic-mindedness and patriotism. He must be able to formulate urgent problems and learn how to resolve them. Unfortunately, today the cultural reputation of an engineer is much lower than in the past. The higher school bears a certain responsibility for this. The consequences of low culture and civic activeness are quite tangible. A distorted concept of career and fear to "lose it" lead to the fact that some young specialists openly take the path of time-serving.

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences N. I. Komarova (Ternopol). Do the aesthetic standards of the worker--I am referring not only to industrial aesthetics or design--have no influence on his labor activeness? We justifiably

raise the question of a broader aesthetic training of specialists in VUZs. A certain number of hours must be allocated and teaching cadres assigned in this area.

Dr of Philosophical Sciences V. I. Astakhova (Kharkov). While still in the VUZ the young specialist must master the knowledge and skills of administrative and organizational activities. An expert study conducted by us shows that the level of such knowledge and skills could be described as satisfactory only for 30 percent of Kharkov VUZ graduates and that it is totally absent in 7-8 percent. Although textbooks have been published and specialized courses provided, the USSR Ministry of Education seems totally unable to resolve the problem of allocating a certain amount of time even for the optional study of such courses.

Docent V. I. Brudnyy (Odessa). Sociopolitical practice as well must be improved. Our polytechnical institute offers a course in the psychological-pedagogical foundations of production management. In my view, the VUZ itself should pay attention to the development of the initiative and autonomy of the future specialist.

So far, according to our study, the overwhelming majority of students (95 percent) need help in meeting their school assignments. In this respect very little difference exists between senior and junior students. It is not astounding that in rating themselves, more than 25 percent of the students were uncertain in determining the level of their readiness for performing professional obligations and that almost 10 percent considered themselves totally unprepared for engineering and technical work.

All of this proves that the time has come to undertake the elaboration of systems of effective incentives, which would enable us substantially to upgrade the quality of specialist training in the higher schools based on the requirements relative to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. Sociologists must make a major contribution to the development of such a system. Another feature I would like to point out is the following: the adaptation process does not take place painlessly for all students. In order to prevent it from turning into time-serving, as N. M. Blinov mentioned, we must make a more profound study of VUZ dropouts, for some of the students drop out precisely because of their inability to organize their life in accordance with VUZ standards.

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. V. Men'shikov, deputy chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Young Scientists and Specialists (Daugavpils). The labor productivity of engineers is greatly reduced by the lack of technicians to assist them. We must increase the responsibility of enterprises for the participation of engineers in scientific and technical progress and the proper organization of their work and development of their creative activity. How frequently is an engineer given work leave or an assignment elsewhere? In the majority of cases enterprise managers do not even want to hear of it: they are concerned merely with day-to-day matters of plan implementation and are unwilling to look ahead or resolve the long-range problems of scientific and technical progress and the intensification of engineering work.

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A. A. Matulenis, deputy director of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law (Vilnius). The shortage of technicians can be largely explained with the fact that a number of technical school graduates do not work in their field but become workers. The higher and secondary specialized education system must have clear guidelines and be aware of the actual need for specialists. The various forms of postprofessional training must be improved. The need to resolve such problems has been repeatedly mentioned but practical steps have clearly fallen behind.

Docent P. O. Kenkmann (Tartu). The advancement of a specialist and his activeness and initiative are largely determined by the way he proves himself as a student. Unfortunately, the Komsomol and other social organizations and enterprises and scientific institutions to which the young specialist has been assigned rarely studied the experience in social work acquired by VUZ graduates in the course of their training. As a result, many valuable skills of young engineers and scientists remain unused and are wasted.

In summing up the results of the discussion, N. S. Sleptsov pointed out that the participants had raised a number of important and topical problems. The discussion will unquestionably help the Komsomol Central Committee Scientific Youth Department and the public Council for the Coordination of Scientific Research on Problems of the Communist Education of Young People of the Komsomol Central Committee and the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. The formulated suggestions will be thoroughly studied and used in the Komsomol's practical work with the young scientific and technical intelligentsia.

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NEW DELHI SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS

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[Report by V. M. Pogostin: "The 11th MSA [International Sociological Association] Congress Will Be Held in New Delhi"]

[Text] A meeting of the SSA [Soviet Sociological Association] Presidium Board was held in February 1984. It discussed the results of the Soviet delegation to the meeting of the program committee for the 11th World Sociological Congress and the publishing committee of the International Sociological Association (Barcelona, Spain, December 1983) as well as problems related to preparations for the forthcoming congress.

The site of the 11th Congress was definitively set by the MSA executive committee. It will take place in India (New Delhi) in August 1986. Although a discussion of the main topic of the congress was moved to the next MSA session, six subtopics were approved in Barcelona: (1) sociological theories and social change; (2) social institutions and changes; (3) role of science and technology in social change; (4) social aspects of economic development; (5) cultural determination of social change; (6) sociological aspects of peace, militarization and resolution of conflicts. The following symposiums are planned as part of the subtopics: subtopic 1: "Conceptualization of the Social Structure and Social Change"; "Connection Between Personalities and Structures"; "Time Element in Social Change Processes"; and "Beyond Pluralistic Coexistence and Toward Creative Comparisons." Subtopic 2: "Changes Within Institutional Frameworks"; "Social Movements and Developing Institutions"; "Institutional Interconnection"; "Formal Decrees, Unsatisfied Requirements and Informal Resolutions." Subtopic 3: "Positive and Negative Consequences of the Influence of Scientific and Technical Development on Society"; "Problems of Social Management of Scientific and Technical Development"; "The Revolution in Information and Communications and Its Influence on National and International Power Structures"; and "Science and Technology and Changes in Social Values." Subtopic 4: "Sociological Significance of the Economic Crisis"; "Victims of Economic Change"; "The Role of the State in Economic Change"; "Social Consequences of Economic Internationalization"; and "Alternative Ways of Economic Development." Subtopic 5: "Upsurge, Decline and Revival of the Concept of Culture"; "Cultural Contradictions and Continuity in Social Change"; "Cultural Charts and Their Drafting"; and "Changing Aspects of Religion." Subtopic 6: "World Sociology--Status of the Disciplines"; "Movements in the Defense of Peace as Agents of Social Change"; "Values and Resolutions of Conflicts"; and "Reasons and Consequences of

Militarization." Five Soviet sociologists are among the organizers of a number of congress symposiums: Academician T. I. Zaslavskaya, Prof V. N. Ivanov, Prof B. A. Grushin, Prof A. G. Zdravomyslov and Prof N. I. Lapin. The MSA Publishing Committee has made the decision to publish a new MSA journal, INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGY.

A number of problems relative to the organization and coordination of sociological research in the USSR were also considered at the meeting of the presidium of the SSA board.

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NEWS ITEMS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 84
(signed to press 16 Apr 84) p 195

[Text] By N. A. Nechayeva. The Third Soviet-Finnish Seminar on "Way of Life-City-Mass Communication" was held in Leningrad with the participation of the members of Tampere University (Finland) and associates of scientific research institutions and VUZs in Moscow, Leningrad, Tallinn and Tartu. The participants in the seminar considered a broad range of problems related to the influence of mass information on the way of life of the urban population and earmarked prospects for further cooperation between Soviet and Finnish sociologists.

By V. B. Shlumper. A Seminar on "Use of Mathematical Methods and Computers in Processing and Analyzing Sociological Data" was held in Tula. It included the participation of enterprise sociologists and associates of scientific research institutes and design and engineering organizations in the city. Reports were submitted on methods for mathematical analysis and multidimensional statistics and experience in the use of computers in planning the social development of enterprises.

By S. P. Goryunov. For the first time public affairs specialist diplomas were presented to 88 students at the Marxism-Leninism University of the Stavropol Kray CPSU committee. The graduates will participate in the activities of laboratories for specific sociological studies in party gorkoms and raykoms and plant and rural sociological services.

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DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM--THE MOST GENERAL THEORY OF DEVELOPMENT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 84
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[Review by V. A. Malinin of the book "Materialisticheskiya Dialektika kak Obshchaya Teoriya Razvitiya" [Dialectical Materialism as a General Theory of Development]. By a group of authors headed by Academician L. F. Il'ichev. Vol 1. "Filosofskiye Osnovy Teorii Razvitiya" [Philosophical Foundations of the Theory of Development]. Nauka, Moscow, 1982, 495 pp. Vol. 2. "Dialektika Razvitiya Nauchnogo Znaniya" [Dialectics of Development of Scientific Knowledge]. Nauka, Moscow, 1982, 463 pp. Vol. 3. "Problema Razvitiya v Sovremennykh Naukakh" [Problem of Development in Contemporary Science]. Nauka, Moscow, 1983, 475 pp. Viktor Arsen'yevich Malinin is a doctor of philosophical sciences, professor and vice president of the USSR Philosophical Society. He is a specialist in historical materialism and history of philosophy. He is the author of the following monographs: "Kritika Burzhuaizmskikh Kontseptsii Istorii Russkoy Filosofii" [Critique of Bourgeois Concepts of the History of Russian Philosophy] (1963); "Filosofiya Revolyutsionnogo Narodnichestva" [Philosophy of Revolutionary Populism] (1972); "Teoriya Istorii Filosofii" [Theory of the History of Philosophy] (1976); "Dialektika Gegelya i Antigegel'yanstvo" [Hegelian Dialectics and Anti-Hegelianism] (1983); and "Levoye Gegel'yanstvo" [Left-Wing Hegelianism] (1983). This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] Sociological research--whether theoretical or applied--is always based on one approach or another to the object of the study, i.e., it presumes a certain methodological concept. Dialectical materialism is the main theoretical base of Marxist sociologists. The further development of sociological research, the study of specific ways of perfecting developed socialism above all, as pointed out at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, presumes the intensification of the logical and methodological foundations of the science of sociology, the further development of the theory of dialectics above all.

This is particularly relevant today, when sociology makes extensive use of the mathematical and statistical methods and approaches developed in related areas of knowledge. This necessitates a clear idea of the possibilities and limits of the application of such methods, i.e., the philosophical foundations of the interaction between sociology and other disciplines.

Problems of the theory of dialectics have been intensively discussed by social scientists for several decades. Such discussions are based on a

specific social need, above all that of intensifying the creative potential of science. In this respect we can give a positive assessment to the publication of three books of a multiple-volume collective effort entitled "Materialisticheskaya Dialektika kak Obshchaya Teoriya Razvitiya."

Let us note above all that from the conceptual viewpoint this is one of the most significant works published in recent years and a really good study of dialectics. The monograph is distinguished by its high presentation standard: quality printing and thorough references and notes.

Basic differences in the theory of dialectics appear above all in the understanding of its objective and subjective aspects. Not all Marxists approve of the use of terms such as "objective" and "subjective" (4). They refer in this case to a statement by Engels who purportedly condemned such a demarcation. Actually, he rejected not said distinction but the desire of Hegel and the Hegelians to depict the category of thinking, i.e., subjective dialectics, "as something preexisting" and objective dialectics as "their simple reflection" (1). In other words, Engels opposed the solution of the basic problem of philosophy in a spirit of idealism. He also opposed the Schelling-Hegelian idea of the identical nature of the laws of life and thinking: the latter, although coinciding in content, are different in form. Dialectical materialism pits the idea of identity against that of reflection. Subjective dialectics is, according to Engels, merely a reflection of the form of motion of the real world, both in nature and history (ibid.).

The basic dialectical-materialistic principles of the study of the subject of dynamic and developing matter are considered in the following sections in Volume 1: "Dialectical Materialism as a World Outlook and Methodology of Revolutionary Practice and Contemporary Science" and "Fundamental Principles of the Dialectical-Materialistic Theory of Development." The study found in these sections is quite convincing. Unfortunately, however, somehow the most important stages in the development of the theory of dialectics and the laws governing the appearance of new principles (paradigms) of scientific thinking have been neglected.

The methodological situation of contemporary science is contradictory. The difficulties are worsened by the extensive use of identical terms in both philosophy and the natural sciences but given different, sometimes conflicting meanings. Naturally, objective reasons for this exist as well: the interpenetration among areas of knowledge and the appearance of borderline problems. Furthermore, the role of probability means of research is increasing in methodology. This makes us remember Aristotle's concept of dialectics as the theory of the probable. Actually, Hegel's absolute speculativeness was also a form of probability thinking. To Hegel dialectics was a method of absolute reflection, expressing the element of scientific thinking which enables us to "develop a process necessarily following a concept" (8). Within the range of such objectivization of concepts the method is that of "a nature of content developing in scientific knowledge," and "a self-building road" (2).

The opposite viewpoint is presented as well. It supports the concept of a strictly external objectivity of the method which allegedly exists outside of

us and which governs our thinking. Therefore, there could be no question of a subjective-objective dialectics. However, due to the fact that this method (whether we consider dialectical materialism or the method used in the study of any specific science) is determined by an object or a class of objects does not mean in the least that their content is totally coincident.¹ In any case, such an approach is hardly acceptable in sociology, where the scientist virtually always deals with opinions and assessments, i.e., with facts in which the study object plays a great role in their interpretation. Even in the natural and precise sciences we cannot speak of a totally objective method. In mathematics, for example, abstract values are used in terms of pure quantities, i.e., separate from quality. Yet no one would start the claim that the relations which characterize the object in mathematical language represent the object itself. The dialectical method enables us scientifically to describe the steadily recurring conversion from abstract-general understanding of the subject to a specific-general understanding in the course of the study process. The idea of the universality of the dialectical method runs throughout the work under review. However, in our view the authors should have discussed in greater detail a problem such as the correlation between dialectics and particular logical-gnosiological research procedures.

Today's methodological boom is accompanied by an ever-increasing formalizing of knowledge which creates in some scientists the desire to single out "methodology in general," "logic of scientific research," etc., as separate scientific disciplines. In this case methodology is interpreted as a means of analysis of existing research structures independent of dialectics. Occasionally, means of study and rules of classification of data and specific sciences are promoted to the rank of methodology. It is clear, however, that general philosophical terms (the dialectical category above all) are general scientific concepts whereas not all general scientific terms are also general philosophical ones. In opposing methodological pluralism, which is quite timely and useful, some authors suggest the use of the following theoretical chain: dialectics-methodology-specific method of a specific science-research target. In this case, the purpose of pure "extradialectical" methodology is to provide instructions of a general order of research in a specific science, thus despite itself assuming a general scientific metaphysical role. In our view, such suggestions cannot be considered merely as the consequence of a methodological expansion of contemporary post-positivism, characterized, on the one hand, by its rejection of the universal significance of dialectics and, on the other, its claim to having structured an object-free methodology.² This view is yet another confirmation of the need to distinguish between empirical concepts, which characterize the nature of the object of knowledge, and abstract and gnosiological concepts (idealizing, modeling, extrapolating, interpolating, etc.), which provide information on ways of thinking and the process of knowledge as such. Therefore, the logic of scientific research is not entirely covered by methodology. Whatever means for resolving contradictions may be suggested in the process of knowledge and interpretation of results, the general methodological potential must be steadily enhanced; the level of philosophical standard must be raised and conventional clichés, which sometimes replace philosophical reflection with scholastic theorizing, must be eliminated. This implies the further enrichment of the dialectical-materialistic outlook and calls, among other things, for a more profound

interpretation of Lenin's stipulations of dialectics as the most complete, profound and comprehensive theory of development (3). In our view, the definition "most" has been included in the title of the work without sufficient grounds.

Under contemporary conditions, the most general theory of development assumes a most important significance. In Marxist literature the concept of development does not have a simple interpretation. In the work under review this category is classified as basic, although no corresponding definition for it is given. Naturally, a book is not a philosophical dictionary. However, a definition of the central concept is necessary,³ for it enables us to outline the subject of the study more precisely.

The "contradiction" category has a special place and significance in the theory of dialectical development. This question is dealt with in the chapter "The Law of Unity and the Struggle of Opposites" (I. S. Narskiy and V. S. Tyukhtin), section 3, book 1. The problems is presented well and skillfully. In our view, however, greater attention should have been paid to it. More problems have been brought up and more suggestions and solutions may be found in philosophical publications of the last decades than the text in this book indicates (in the works of S. T. Borshchev, S. P. Dudel', V. I. Gorbach, V. V. Borodkin and others) on this topic and, particularly, on problems of philosophical substantiations of the theory of development, contradictions in the development of scientific knowledge and types of contradictions in nature and society.

Generally speaking, a great variety of views have been expressed on the conceptual system in dialectical materialism in our literature in recent years. According to some specialists, the classical form of dialectical materialism is so perfect as to exclude the possibility of establishing any new categories of a universal nature. According to their opponents, however, it is precisely the classical form of dialectics which confirms the universal nature of the idea of development: the endless development of the world. Consequently, essentially new concepts and views may be formulated, which could be sensibly included in the system of universal categories of dialectical materialism. This assumption is confirmed by the latest scientific trends. In the 1970s and 1980s concepts which initially appeared in other sciences were added to the philosophical vocabulary, such as "idealization," "interiorization," "information," "modeling," "formalizing," "structure," "element," "integrity," "target setting," etc. Actually, thanks to the general theory of development many new aspects of said phenomena were brought to light. The authors of this work deserve credit for analyzing 20th-century processes and problems of scientific knowledge with the help of the broadest possible conceptual apparatus of philosophy.

Nevertheless, the authors' position is not entirely clear on one important matter: they either include problems of the theory of scientific research, as well as the so-called systematic method, in the general theory of development, or place them outside the framework of the theory of dialectics (6). Furthermore, both the first and second volumes include sections or chapters which, strictly speaking, are rather structural components and elements of specific means and methods of scientific knowledge than dialectics.

One of the very topical and debatable problems is the following: in what specifically is the dialectics of the various forms of motion of matter manifested and, correspondingly, what is its conceptual expression in the sciences of nature and society? Said topic is studied in detail in the third book of the series, which deals with the problem of development in modern science.

One of the unquestionable merits of this work is, above all, the desire of the authors to surmount the "unfortunately still-existing means of presentation of dialectics in our literature, in which universal development laws are described through the study of individual "outstanding" examples in one area of scientific knowledge or another" (7, p 5).

In our view, it is entirely accurate in this connection to consider as the main task the description of the way general philosophical methodology should run through the methods of the individual sciences. We did not accidentally use the word "must," which is not found in the text. Apparently, the authors considered that said problem has already been resolved. This view presumes that the ideal model of knowledge has been attained. We could hardly agree with this. However, despite the lack of terminological accuracy in some cases, virtually all problems of the correlation between general philosophical and specific scientific methodology are presented in the book competently with the help of original and rewarding approaches. This was greatly helped by including among the authors noted natural and social scientists such as V. A. Ambartsumyan, N. P. Dubinin, V. N. Kudryavtsev and others. Incidentally, we should point out that the question of the interpenetrations of sciences has been quite insufficiently developed in our literature. This is reflected in the monograph under consideration as well. In our view, the rigid classification of disciplines into "sciences of nature" and "sciences of society" is not always justified. For example, it is not entirely clear why branches of knowledge such as ecology, management or informatics have been clearly classified within the first group, for it is precisely they which prove particularly clearly the fruitfulness of interaction between social and natural science approaches. The topic of "Appearance of Life and Origin of Man" has been included in the section "The Idea of Development in the Natural Sciences."

These examples prove the great difficulties which appear in efforts to provide a simple classification of sciences. It is noteworthy that in the first volume the authors themselves recognize the fruitful role "which the combination of dialectical materialism with the natural, technological and social sciences plays in its creative elaboration as the general theory of development" (5, p 7). The authors consider the idea of unity of sciences one of their main research principles.

In their effort to provide a strict and specific presentation, the authors avoid categorical assertions and hasty conclusions. Unfortunately, in some cases such caution leads to the fact that they avoid providing a direct answer to crucial problems. For example, in section III of volume 1, in which universal development laws are analyzed, we find the conclusion that "the dialectics of interconnection between elements and structures, therefore, is a concretizing of the dialectics of content and form and of its

specific aspect" (5, p 340-341). This "therefore" is rather unconvincing. The preceding stipulations, however, may lead to the opposite conclusion, according to which the dialectics of content and form is the concretized dialectics of the element and the structure. This inconsistency is confirmed by the following fact as well: in one section quantity and quality, content and form and element and structure are considered as characterizing the development process; elsewhere element and structure are defined as concepts of the lower level of abstraction. Similar lack of proof is found in the presentation of the problem of dialectical logic.

Let us emphasize in conclusion that the authors justifiably object to the view that a multiple-volume study should begin with an "objective" presentation of the topic, so that in the last volume the enemies of dialectics may be dealt with. In this work, wherever pertinent and necessary, the positions held by the opponents of Marxism are subjected to substantiated criticism. The authors argue not with insignificant personalities but with convincing anticommunists, such as K. Popper and his students. A distinguishing feature of this publication is its consistently scientific nature and party-mindedness in the analysis of bourgeois and revisionist theories. Thus, in noting the increased influence of structuralism in the West, the authors thoroughly prove the antidialectical nature of its basic stipulations while accurately assessing the struggle which the structuralists are waging against subjective-idealistic speculations and subjective value positions in science.

Since this study has not been completed, it would be premature to claim that this work is a new round in the development of the dialectics, logic and theory of knowledge. Unquestionably, however, the work marks a confident step forward in the dialectical spiral of knowledge. It must mandatorily be supported by equally systematic and fundamental studies of philosophical materialism and materialistic view on history in the spirit of Lenin's classification of Marxist philosophy, as found in his article "Karl Marx": philosophical materialism-dialectics-materialistic understanding of history-class struggle. In other words, the theory of dialectics and the theory of materialism must be presented in the single language of the most general principles, laws and concepts. The qualitative improvement in the standard of scientific works in all areas of knowledge, the humanities above all, would significantly contribute to the solution of this problem.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Objections to the excessive objectivizing of the method (and the methodology have a tradition. For example, in a recent work it is defined as "the sum total of the methods used in attaining a specific objective" (9). Aristotle would agree with this definition whereas Hegel would not.
2. One of the variants of such a methodology--"epistemological anarchism" or "Dadaism"--is developed in the works of P. Feuerabend (see for example (10)).
3. The necessary definitions are lacking in some other cases as well. Thus, while noting the numerous incorrect formulations of Godel's theorem, nevertheless the authors do not provide a more accurate definition.

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BOOK ON SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

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[Review by N. N. Kozlova and Yu. K. Pletnikov of the book "Struktura i Zakonomernosti Obshchestvennogo Soznaniya" [Structure and Laws of Social Consciousness] by B. A. Chagin. Nauka, Leningrad, 1982, 314 pp]

[Text] Of late, the Soviet scientists have been paying greater attention to problems of social consciousness. This is related to the need for a philosophical-methodological interpretation of a number of new social processes and their purposeful control. It is a question above all of the increased relative independence of the consciousness, in which the various types of spiritual activities are increasingly turning into complex institutionalized systems governing its output and functioning and the energizing of the role of this phenomenon in social development. The book under review is an answer to the requirement of the study of such topical problems.

The book opens with a section on the methodology used in the study of social consciousness. As we know, two basic approaches have been formulated: the gnosiological and the sociological (the social). In the first case, social consciousness is characterized from the viewpoint of the reflection of social life, i.e., its origin and content. The second is a study of the place, purpose and functions of one awareness phenomenon or another in the social structure. The latter is considered the historical product of social activity systems. This book is an effort to apply said approaches as organically interacting.

The author proceeds from the fact that the gnosiological approach is fundamental, for it considers social life and social consciousness as a correlation of the material and spiritual aspects of social life. This problem is basic in understanding the nature of the historical process. It is precisely the need for a consistent materialistic interpretation of cognitive and ideological functions of social consciousness and pitting such an interpretation to the efforts of contemporary idealists to reject gnosiological analysis as erroneous that determines the significance of the gnosiological approach. Furthermore, the overall characterization of the problem presumes the sociological study of consciousness in its unity with the other aspects of social activities.

The accuracy and the heuristic possibilities of this viewpoint would have become more obvious had the author paid greater attention to the theoretical-

methodological foundations of the unity between the approaches under consideration. Nevertheless, Chagin's work is a substantial contribution to the study of one of the key features of the problem--the active consciousness.

Despite their interdependence, a clear distinction must be made between the gnosiological and the sociological approaches. The author profoundly substantiates and describes in detail the significance of this important methodological requirement. In particular, the unjustified broadening of the range of application and incomplete understanding of the possibilities of the methods under consideration are sources of a number of far-fetched debates. With the help of numerous examples Chagin proves that without a proper methodological reflection it would be difficult accurately to formulate the question of the meaning of the concept of "social life" (pp 17-33). Its contemporary interpretation has been substantially affected by a number of social processes, including the increased economic role of the state, narrowing the gap between material and spiritual production, etc. As a result, the laws and real mechanisms of the functioning of social consciousness cannot always be determined on the level of pitting social life against social consciousness. However, this does not require in the least the introduction of some kind of broadened understanding of said category. The concept formulated by the author of the need to characterize each new phenomenon as integral on different levels of abstraction seems fruitful to us.

The problem of combining said approaches surfaces sharply in the study of the structure of social consciousness and, above all, in the analysis of the correlation between its cognitive and sociopractical aspects. The fruitfulness of the methods we indicated is confirmed by Chagin's solution of the problem of the social nature of the phenomenon under consideration. Thus, in characterizing the forms of social consciousness, according to the author we should not only single out the object and the method of reflection but the social function of each one of them (pp 104-123).

In our view, however, such a combination of approaches may be necessary yet insufficient. The results of the ideal reflection of reality by the social subject becomes a target only in the presence of a value attitude toward the object. Said aspect is an important link between gnosiological and sociological study of social consciousness. Unfortunately, Chagin does not always systematically implement the idea of unity between said methods in the structuring of social consciousness. In the author's view, the latter consists of social psychology, ideology and scientific theoretical consciousness. It is clear that such a division is based on the gnosiological feature, i.e., from the viewpoint of the level of reflection of social life in the consciousness.

The question is: In such a case, how should one classify such important spiritual-practical phenomena as a common unconscious and public opinion? Obviously, in defining their place in the structure of social consciousness sociological analysis must be used above all, i.e., a study must be made of the conditions and methods of development of such phenomena and only then convert to the gnosiological characterization of common consciousness and public opinion and the study of the influence of the latter on cognitive processes developing in a variety of forms.

Therefore, the idea of combining the two approaches must be implemented specifically on each separate occasion, depending on the specific nature of the studied target and the objectives and tasks of the study. This will enable us to define more accurately the structural characteristics of the various forms and levels of consciousness. Otherwise the solution of theoretical as well as practical problems of building communism would be obstructed.

The structure and laws governing the development of social consciousness under socialism are among the main subjects of the author's study. In this connection his analysis of the specific historical forms of implementation of the general sociological law of consistency between social consciousness and social life is of considerable interest. In our view, in this case Chagin proceeds from two accurate premises: (1) this and other similar laws are manifested differently under different historical circumstances; (2) internal laws exist in addition to the universal ones, which also express the effect of the latter. They are determined by the specifics and the interdependent forms of social consciousness in terms of mastering reality and its dependence on the condition of social life. A number of intermediary links exist between them and social consciousness (pp 128-143). We believe that these concepts are a substantial contribution to the methodology of the study of historical continuity in the forms of spiritual activities, the internal sources of their development and the active role which social consciousness plays in the shaping of social relations, including economic ones.

Upgrading the role of the subjective factor under socialism, expanding the functions of superstructural phenomena and intensifying the importance of ideological processes are activities which find their final and most specific manifestation in the activities of the broad popular masses. In this connection, Chagin turns to topics of the social function of common consciousness and its purposeful shaping, which have been somewhat ignored in our literature. The solution of this problem requires, among other things, the precise determination of the components of the considered phenomenon which are triggered by the practice of socialism and those which are vestiges, rudiments of former capitalist relations. The study made in the book of changes in the common consciousness under the influence of socialist changes and the ideological education work of the CPSU is one of the most successful efforts of its kind made in recent years. Actually, the author could have intensified this study by making extensive use of the numerous works by philosophers, historians, sociologists, social psychologists and science experts of the problems related to the functioning of the individual forms of social consciousness, such as moral, legal, artistic, etc.

As a whole, Chagin's monograph is a major study of social consciousness. The main merit of the book is the author's efforts to combine the theoretical-methodological with the specific historical approaches to the target of his study. This has enabled him both to formulate a number of new and interesting problems and to provide a clear answer to a number of debatable problems.

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SHAPING THE SPIRITUAL ASPECT OF THE SOVIET WORKER

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[Review by V. V. Vdovenko of the book "NTR i Formirovaniye Dukhovnogo Oblika Sovetskogo Rabochego" [The Scientific and Technical Revolution and Shaping the Spiritual Aspect of the Soviet Worker]. Politizdat Ukrainy, Kiev, 1982, 327 pp]

[Text] The influence of the NTR [scientific and technical revolution] on the various aspects of social life is a relatively well-studied trend in Marxist social science. Nevertheless, a number of "bottlenecks" exist in the development of this problem. One of them is the influence of the NTR on the spiritual aspect of the working class in the developed socialist society.

The determination of the influence of the NTR on the value orientations of the workers was the main task of the study conducted between 1976 and 1980 by the scientific communism sector of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee Institute of Party History. The monograph under review was based on the materials of the study.

One of the features of this book is the efficient development of the method of sociological analysis. This is manifested above all in the creation of special procedures for selection structuring. In particular, sectors and enterprises distinguished by relatively highly skilled workers were singled out (p 106); selective units consisting of two groups of respondents, 360 and 396 people respectively, was formed. The study of their characteristics has made it possible to describe not only specific professional and social groups but the trend as a whole (pp 106-121). The number of comparable features (for each group of respondents) included traditional sociological characteristics describing the main realms of human activity (labor, way of life, recreation), value orientations and satisfaction with various aspects of life.

With the help of extensive empirical data the authors studied the characteristics of the motivational structure and behavior of the group. Based on comparisons among emotional-motivational assessments of 20 manifestations of life situations (p 131) and their breakdown into hierarchical levels (p 139) the conclusion is reached that the need for work "by a motive significance" (p 137) emerges in a leading position among workers in automated production, whereas the need for material security and marital and private life is listed first by workers not influenced as yet by the NTR.

In our view, this conclusion is quite vulnerable, for such a contraposition of values conflicts with the existing theoretical concepts, results of other studies and even some views expressed in the monograph itself. An example is the thesis of the unity of moral upbringing: "We must develop in a person not one or two moral qualities and features but their entire range which determines the moral behavior of the person in all realms of activities" (p 176).

It would be more accurate to assume that the conversion of labor into a prime vital need would place it in the same rank as equally urgent requirements (food, procreation, children's education, family, etc.), rather than above them. This is pointed out by the Leningrad researchers who consider that if interests in terms of professional, family or recreation activities are considered on the same level, the dominant role will be assumed not by them individually but rather by their general trend (1). The same solution to the problem is given by other specialists as well, who point out that as the value of the work increases it usually stops being the "exclusive all-absorbing passion." Naturally, side by side with labor the awareness of the importance of the family, the education of children, the value of high-level prosperity, entertainment, recreation, etc., develops naturally (2). Therefore, the conclusion drawn in the monograph to the effect that "already today, under the production influence of the NTR significant changes are occurring in the motivational structure of the life orientations of workers and that the relative motivational significance of a number of most important human needs changes substantially" (p 142) is unnecessarily categorical. Even if we assume that all the parameters important in the study (for a given point in time) have been taken into consideration and that their influence has been registered or determined, it remains unclear how will the views of workers in automated production change as it develops.

Essentially, such an assertion means that for this group of workers labor has already become or is becoming a prime vital need. It would be hardly accurate to draw such conclusions on the basis of a single trend. The limited nature of the possibilities of a sociological analysis itself calls for caution.

In the realm of spiritual consumption, the authors note, no substantial differences are found between workers in either group. This is not astounding, for their consumption of spiritual goods develops under similar conditions, on the same material base. Yet it would be unlikely to assume that changes in the motivational significance of a number of most important human needs would not lead to changes in the nature of consumption.

In the monograph the study of the motivational aspect predominates over that of behavioral activities. Yet balancing them is of great importance in understanding social phenomenon. It is quite likely that a closer study of the social and cultural activities of the respondents (through a description of the structure of their occupations and the sequence of the latter, ranked in terms of complexity and sociocultural significance rather than merely popularity) would enable us to penetrate more profoundly into the characteristics of the spiritual aspect of the members of the groups under comparison.

Despite such omissions, this work unquestionably deserves a high rating. The materials of this study enable us to provide specific practical recommendations for achieving a fuller consistency between the qualitative structure of labor and the skill and educational structure of the workers under mature socialist conditions.

The book is distinguished by its high scientific and publication standards. It is our profound conviction that the publication of methods and, something particularly important, primary research data should be adopted as standards for any sociological publication.

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STUDY OF POLITICAL AND LEGAL KNOWLEDGE

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(signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 204-205

[Review by M. Ya. Korneyev of the book "Politicheskaya i Pravovaya Kul'tura"
[Political and Legal Knowledge] by N. M. Keyzerov. Yuridicheskaya Literatura,
Moscow, 1983, 236 pp]

[Text] The need for the development of methodological problems of the comprehensive study of political and legal knowledge is dictated by life itself, for its role in the process of improving the developed socialist society and shaping the new person increases systematically. This scientific trend assumes particular importance in connection with the drastic aggravation of the ideological struggle in the international arena. The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum pointed out that "it is exceptionally important to be able to present to the broadest popular masses the world over in an intelligible and convincing form the truth of the socialist society, its advantages and its policy of peace. It is no less important to be able skillfully to expose false and subversive imperialist propaganda." N. M. Keyzerov's monograph describes the mechanisms used in the propaganda of bourgeois and reformist concepts and political and legal standards, convincingly proving the groundlessness of attacks on the socialist society.

The work under review begins with a definition of the concept itself of political and legal knowledge in the system of categories of Marxist-Leninist science. The author then proceeds to consider these concepts taking the socialist society as an example. The monograph concludes with a study of the process of shaping an active civic stance in the Soviet person. For it is precisely in the person that, in the final account, political and legal knowledge becomes "materialized," and it is on the basis of the level of civic maturity that one could judge of the effectiveness of the mechanism used in shaping the outlook and the type of real problems and difficulties which appear in this area.

On the basis of the fundamental ideas of the Marxist-Leninist classics, the author provides clear and profound definitions of political standards, by explaining their nature "through the lens of the categories of class interests and their dialectical correlation with social interests" (p 16). Keyzerov emphasizes that "Marxist-Leninist political ideology, which is a systematized scientific summation of the experience of the class struggle for the interests of the working people and an integral scientific program for

political activities" (p 23) plays a leading role in shaping the political standard." He emphasizes that "a political standard means not only ideas and views but specific social practice as well (p 24).

In noting differences on the conceptual level between legal and political knowledge and providing detailed and comprehensive description of the latter, the author writes that "in the long process of the class struggle political and legal awareness naturally develops into political social action, the results of which, once again, are assessed from the viewpoint of the unity of class and social interests and, whenever expedient, are reproduced repeatedly in the guise of political norms of behavior and activities of state and public organizations and legal stipulations and traditions" (p 35).

Keyzerov aptly includes in his study interesting new data characterizing the complex and quite contradictory process of the development of political and legal knowledge in the developing countries, in Africa above all. This problem is of both scientific and major practical significance, particularly in countries with a socialist orientation. However, it would be desirable for the author to engage in a more detailed study of political and legal structures of developing countries in the state of transition toward socialism, in which archaic and contemporary elements become strangely interwoven.

The author seeks new approaches to determining the historical types of political standards, accurately proceeding from the fact that the fundamental methodological base for distinguishing among the latter is the Marxist-Leninist theory of the types of social systems (p 56). The comparative analysis of political structures provided by the author is of unquestionable theoretical interest. Regrettably, however, their typology has not been supplemented by an equally expanded typology of legal knowledge for despite their common features and close interconnection, differences between them exist as well, as mentioned by the author himself.

On the basis of rich factual data, including results of specific studies, Keyzerov proves the reciprocal enrichment between political and legal knowledge in the course of their interaction. Unfortunately, although considering the correlation between political knowledge and legal system in a socialist society, the author does not explain why he has paid great attention precisely on the legal system a definition of which, incidentally, is not to be found in the work.

Let us emphasize in conclusion that despite some shortcomings this monograph is distinguished by a profound substantiation of formulated concepts and a convincing criticism of our ideological opponents.

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INFLUENCE OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL REVOLUTION ON HIGHER TECHNICAL TRAINING

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 84 pp 206-207

[Review by I. P. Yakovlev of the book "Vyssheye Tekhnicheskoye Obrazovaniye v Usloviyakh NTR" [Higher Technical Education Under the Conditions of the Scientific and Technical Revolution] by N. A. Aitov, G. N. Aleksandrov and R. R. Mavlyutov. Vysshaya Shkola, Moscow, 1983, 256 pp]

[Text] This book sums up the experience in training specialists in technical VUZs and describes the results of sociological and psychological-pedagogical studies conducted at the Ufa Aviation Institute. The authors analyzed the new requirements for training engineers "from three different viewpoints of a VUZ head, a sociologist and a specialist in engineering pedagogy and psychology" (p 3). It is this which determines the structure of the work. Such an approach is fruitful, for it contributes to the fullest possible clarification of the most important aspects of higher technical training.

Thus, sociological studies have made it possible to analyze the activities of engineers, their professional mobility and attitude toward their work, as well as the motivations of the students enrolling in a VUZ and their value orientations concerning future activities. The authors consider problems of modeling the activities and the personality of the specialist and the training-education process primarily from the positions of psychology and pedagogy. In their opinion, "knowledge of higher school psychology and pedagogy and understanding the laws of the training and education process enable us to structure substantiated programs for the comprehensive upbringing of the students throughout their training period, to choose the most efficient ways, forms and means of educational influence and to create a unified pedagogical system in the VUZ and the most favorable psychological climate for molding the personality of the engineer-to-be" (p 67).

The sociological problems are discussed in the initial chapters. Great attention has been paid to making engineering work increasingly widespread and collective, and to the influence of this trend on changing the social status of engineers and to problems of enrollment in technical VUZs and the content and quality of specialist training. The authors write that "we consider erroneous the view that the prestige of the engineering profession has declined, allegedly as a result of lowering the competition for the country's technical VUZs in recent years. Actually, what has happened is not the lowering of the competition but greater enrollment" (p 13). From our

viewpoint, this contraposition is artificial. It is true that increased enrollment reduces competition. However, the prestige of the engineering professions may decline also as a result of the nonoptimal utilization of young specialists in production, shortcomings in wages and labor organization, etc.

The monograph presents results of studies of the attitude toward labor and satisfaction with it, conducted among alumni of the Ufa Aviation Institute. The dissatisfaction of the engineers with their work is justifiably related to shortcomings in its organization, slow pace of promotion, etc. The study indicates that the attitude of many alumni toward their profession could be described as superficial: in the choice of institutes, 44.8 percent of the answers were the desire to study rather than an interest in a specific subject (p 25).

The monograph should have provided a more detailed study of the interaction between objective and subjective factors in engineering activities, for this largely determines the scale of VUZ enrollment and the content and type of training of the future specialists and the means and methods of the training and education process. Closely related to this is the problem of professional mobility. About one-third of all engineers change profession or specialty; 30 percent of the Ufa Aviation Institute alumni do not practice in the subjects they studied in the VUZ and roughly another 20 percent would like to switch professions (p 28).

The authors' assessment of this phenomenon is complex. In their view, on the one hand, it proves that the choice of VUZ and specialty is accidental; on the other, the inevitability of such contradictions, for the concept of engineer is interpreted in the book excessively broadly. This involves "designer, technologist, worker operating a most complex machine tool, plant director, raykom secretary and in-house services economist" (p 18). With this kind of approach the functional content of engineering work is replaced by a social status which could indeed vary among the alumni. However, the technical VUZs do not train specialists "for all emergencies in life." That is why the clearer demarcation is necessary between rational and unjustified mobility of specialists.

Today the higher school feeds not only the ranks of the intelligentsia but those of the skilled manpower as well. Their increased number is a legitimate phenomenon based on the increased complexity of the equipment and automation. The authors use in their study the concept of "workers-intellectuals." In our view, the term "workers-engineers" would be more logical. The question of the expediency in training such cadres in institutes should be the subject of a special study. Its solution would determine the future of technicals and PTU [vocational-technical schools] and their links with the VUZs.

The book contains a number of practical recommendations on improving the system of higher technical education, including scientific work in VUZs. The authors submit an interesting suggestion on the three-level training of engineers, which would include the basic course (3 years), a program for general specialization (1-1.5 years) and a program for narrow specialization (6

months of production training and a one-year internship after graduation) (p 71). This would make it possible to avoid the cost of changing specialized fields and will contribute to training workers-engineers and specialists-performers who must possess, above all, both theoretical knowledge and practical skills. In the opinion of the authors, along with training based on the principle of "from the general to the specific," it would be expedient to apply the principle "from the specific to the general," and to offer cyclical training, thus graduating engineers in several categories, based on their capabilities for performing or creative work.

This would provide prerequisites for the implementation of two integration processes: 1) between VUZs and technicums and some PTU in training "junior engineers"; 2) between VUZs and scientific and scientific-production organizations and economic sectors which need research engineers.

According to the authors the successful implementation of the tasks of higher schools requires the creation of training-scientific-production complexes. It is precisely here that possibilities are hidden of improving all VUZ activities. Unfortunately, this important problem is only merely mentioned. The very title of the monograph, from our viewpoint, is not entirely consistent with its content, for the authors' analysis is based on the study of a single VUZ. Also noteworthy in the work is a certain "departmentalism" in the consideration of problems. Such shortcomings, however, do not lower the value of this book but merely emphasize the complexity of the problems it discusses.

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REVIEW OF YOUNG TEACHERS' ACTIVITIES

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[Review by G. Ye. Zborovskiy of the book "Professional'naya Deyatel'nost' Molodogo Uchitelya" [Professional Activities of the Young Teacher]. Edited by Vershlovskiy, S. G. and Lesokhina, L. N. Pedagogika, Moscow, 1982, 44 pp]

[Text] Teachers belong to one of the largest socioprofessional groups of the Soviet intelligentsia. There are 2,332,000 teachers in the daytime general education schools alone, 2].1 percent of whom are young and have taught school for less than 5 years. Every year they are joined by more than 100,000 VUZ and as many secondary special education graduates (1). These figures themselves confirm the seriousness of the problems which were studied by the authors of the monograph under review.

Essentially, this work is a study of the way of life, value orientations, socioprofessional adaptation, work style and leisure-time occupations. It also paints the social portrait of the young teacher.

The first chapter studies the teachers as a distinct socioprofessional group within our society. Here attention is focussed mainly on the structure, nature and content of the teachers' work. It emphasizes the social status and social significance of the work of the Soviet teacher compared to the situation of his colleagues in the contemporary capitalist world. The study of empirical data leads the authors to the conclusion that "a considerable percentage of young teachers are first generation intellectuals" (p 34). This conclusion coincides with the data gathered by F. R. Filippov, M. Kh. Titma, L. Ya. Rubina and other researchers, according to which the young generation of teachers comes mostly from worker and kolkhoz strata.

According to the authors, the social portrait of the young teacher consists of a number of contradictory features. One of them is the decades-old conflict between society's need for male teachers and the further "feminizing" of teaching staffs. Statistical data show that 4 out of 5 teachers are women. The second equally grave problem is the contradiction between the need for socially mature and experienced cadres and the limited practical experience of the overwhelming majority of teachers whose career in education begins between the ages of 19 and 22. Unfortunately, after pointing out the problem the authors not always provide a solution. This considerably lowers the

practical value of their work. What matters, however, is that compared to other studies teachers (L. G. Borisova, V. N. Turchenko) they provide a number of new facts.

The book extensively analyzes the influence of the value orientations of young teachers on their professional activities. The authors consider the attitude toward the profession of educator as an internal catalyst of external influences as well as a measure of the teacher's personal responsibility for decision making. On the basis of data obtained from the study of the reasons which governed the choice of this profession they prove that "the higher the level of socioprofessional expectations of the young specialists is the more they resist the natural difficulties which arise in the course of their professional self-assertion and the more durably their positive views on the profession become" (p 40). This conclusion is of major importance to practical activities of institutions training teacher and educator cadres.

The authors consider the reasons for the choice of this profession in their dynamics and conclude that the process of self-assertion of most young teachers is completed by the fourth year of work. To some extent this is related to the characteristics of their professional activities: during the first 2 years the young educator concentrates above all on teaching; during the third year he concentrates on communicating with the students, and during the fourth teaching and communicating come closer to each other and a qualitatively new stage of activities begins.

How does the process of socioprofessional adaptation of the young teacher take place? It is based on three interrelated components: self-knowledge, self-assessment and self-prediction. No professional self-determination is possible without them (interpreted as the process of changes in the very essence of the way in which the educator perceives his activities).

This question is treated in a separate chapter, where particular attention is paid to teaching style. The authors, who mean by this the lasting trend in the means used in performing a specific type of activity, study the process of development of style, in which they single out the stage of entering the work (the first year), the integrative stage (the second year) and the stage during which the teacher's work style is established (the third to the fifth year). It is precisely during the third stage that the stability of a professional behavior is detected. This approach to the study of the process of development of the school teacher as a specialist appears to us quite productive.

We agree with the authors that the organization of the teacher's work and the totality of conditions which govern the activities of the young specialist greatly influence his professional feelings. However, having formulated this concept, the authors fail to substantiate it with the type of thoroughness which should be inherent in scientific research. This is one of the most typical errors in this book, for the study of professional activities is poorly related to the study of others. Let us cite as an example the most critical problem of women teachers -- having a family -- particularly under rural school conditions. Sometimes the solution of this problem is what determines the professional activities of women teachers. Unfortunately, all of this has not been reflected in the book.

As a whole the monograph leaves a double impression: along with thoroughly researched concepts and valuable empirical data there is a strikingly fragmentary treatment of individual topics and incomplete interpretation of a number of vital problems. In particular, we believe that the publishing house reviewers proved not to be on the level of their assignment. They clearly failed to make use of the full opportunities at their disposal to improve the quality of the manuscript at the editing stage.

In conclusion, let us point out the vivid style used by the authors. They have aptly used excerpts from works of fiction and movie plots. This makes the work interesting and by and large accessible not only to sociological specialists but to a broader circle of readers, teachers above all, as well.

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SOCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE

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[Review by M. N. Nikolayev of the book "Russkiy Yazyk -- Yazyk Druzhby i Bratstva" [The Russian Language -- Language of Friendship and Brotherhood] by Dzhafarov, I. B. Azerneshr, Baku, 1982, 192 pp]

[Text] The topic of I. B. Dzhafarov's monograph is the philosophical and sociological interpretation of the role of the Russian language in the intercourse and cooperation between fraternal peoples and the strengthening of their friendship and cohesion. The author analyzes and sums up the rich experience of the Azerbaijan party organization in the propaganda and dissemination of the Russian language. He offers interesting thoughts on the social role of national-Russian bilingualism in the life of the non-Russian population, including in the area of artistic creativity.

Unquestionably, conclusions based on a single republic's data involve the danger that all aspects of a studied phenomenon will not be fully covered. However, in the case of the Azerbaijan SSR the basic contemporary ethno-linguistic processes of union-wide significance are reflected as though in a drop of water.

Under contemporary conditions international communications are an objective requirement in the linguistic life of the peoples of the USSR. In turn, they are the result of the consistent and comprehensive rapprochement among nations, the increased scale of interrepublic migrations, intensified urbanization and surmounting national aloofness and narrow-mindedness (p 45).

Whatever his nationality, the Soviet person knows that mastery of the Russian language contributes to the all-round development of the personality. On the national level this is reinforced by factors such as the broadened scale of material production and the economic development of the republics; the historically developed sympathy felt by non-Russian nationalities for the Russian people and their language; and the functional qualities of the Russian language as one of the richest and most developed literary languages in the world. The author points out the important role of sociopolitical, psychological and linguistic factors in the establishment of the Russian language as a means of international contacts.

Our ideological foes try to present the aspiration of peoples of different nations to learn Russian as an example of harming the development of the languages of the other peoples of the USSR. Dzhamalov convincingly proves that the dissemination of the Russian language does not hinder in the least the successful development of the other national languages. This is clearly confirmed by the enriched vocabulary of the Azeri language. Whereas the first terminological dictionary (compiled in 1907) included no more than 2,000 sociopolitical and scientific and technical terms, today's dictionaries include more than 60,000 (p 121).

Dzhamalov draws attention to another quite noteworthy fact: in Azerbaijan other types of bilingualism exist in addition to the national-Russian. He describes the double nature of bilingualism in Soviet society. Knowledge of the languages of the peoples of the USSR is widespread among Russian people, particularly those living outside the RSFSR. In Azerbaijan, for example, joint work within the same production collectives, the growing number of mixed (Russian-Azerbaijani) marriages and a number of other factors have led to the fact that a "considerable share of people of Russian nationality are fluent in Azeri" (p 130). Russian-national bilingualism has become particularly widespread in the republic's rural rayons. According to the 1979 population census, the percentage of Russians fluent in Azeri or who consider it their native tongue was twice as high in the republic's villages than in the cities.

While pointing out the increased need for the extensive dissemination of the national-Russian type of bilingualism under developed socialism, Dzhamalov also notes that "the development of bilingualism is a complex and lengthy process, for which reason efforts to develop it artificially or, conversely, to restrain it are equally erroneous and harmful" (p 140).

The author formulates a number of fine methodological concepts. In particular, he emphasizes the ripe need for a comprehensive study of the mechanism of the growth of the Russian language as an instrument for international communication and "a second native language and the native language of peoples" (p 149) and the role of the Russian language in the international education of the people and the rapprochement and unification of nations (p 85). The Russian language, the author points out, helps to convert the idea of socialist internationalism into a component of awareness and the shaping of a firm class-oriented approach to national values and international relations. The progressive norms of communist morality, the principles of a scientific-internationalist outlook and similarity features are established with the help of the Russian language among the working people of different nationalities in the course of contacts among nations (p 90). The Russian language helps to intensify the processes of further integration between the multinational and multilingual population of our country as a new historical community -- the Soviet people.

The author's study of the penetration of bilingualism in Soviet artistic literature is of great importance (p 143). Addressing himself to the works of Azerbaijani writers and poets, who write in Russian without, however, abandoning their native soil, Dzhamalov proves the progressive importance of bilingual creative work.

The author makes a thorough study of all-union data revealing various trends in the development of the country's linguistic life. His conclusions are generally substantiated, although he occasionally uses uncritically second-hand information. Thus, he claims that "under socialism the number of written languages increased from 23 to 70" (p 31). Yet, as was already noted at the 1971 Fifth USSR Writers' Congress, the Soviet writers are working in 75 languages of the peoples of our country (1). The 1980 Statistical Yearbook states that under the Soviet system books and pamphlets have been published in the USSR in 158 languages, including 89 spoken by USSR peoples (2).

In referring to literary sources, the author writes that today the number of people speaking two languages perfectly does not exceed 5 percent of bilingual people (p 133). This is doubtful. The 1979 population census proved that people of non-Russian nationality who speak Russian fluently has reached 62.2 percent of the total, while 85.6 percent considered the language of their nation as they native language. These masses of non-Russian nationality, who mastered Russian, could not forget their own national language or else, conversely, having retained their fluency in their national tongue, failed to adopt the Russian language. This contradicts the conclusion reached by Dzhafarov himself that the overwhelming share of the country's population uses the Russian language fluently and on a daily basis, for it has become the second native tongue of the working people of different nationalities (p 177).

The book contains other inaccuracies as well. For example, Dzhafarov writes that "61.3 million non-Russians listed Russian as their second native language.... Consequently, 214.8 million people or 81 percent of the Soviet population are fluent in Russian" (pp 70-71). In reality, in the country at large Russian was spoken by 82 percent of the population. This, however, is not the point.

The question of second native tongue was not asked at all in the 1979 census. In accordance with the instructions for filling the questionnaire, the people listed not their "second native tongue" but the second language of USSR peoples in which they were fluent. Replacing one heading with another is inadmissible, the more so since in this case, the native tongue constitutes an ethnopsychological category which reflects the level of language fluency (and not the frequency of its use or the number of areas of its application but the national ethnic self-awareness of the individual). The concept of "second native language" is an entirely different one. So far this concept has not been given any somewhat satisfactory scientific interpretation. Nevertheless, it may be assumed that it is related not to a national mentality or self-awareness but to internationalist categories, such as "all-Soviet patriotism" and a "feeling of family oneness," or, briefly, to an awareness of being not the representative of a given nation but of a new social and international community -- the Soviet people.

In our view confusing these concepts may lead, willy-nilly, to the premature conclusion that a merger among nations is already taking place. We believe that the merger among nations will be the result of a lengthy historical development of socialist society, the more so since Dzhafarov himself emphasizes, several pages later, that "the Russian language acceptance by non-Russian peoples as their second native tongue is based not in the least on

the basis of fluency but because of its sociopolitical significance, an internally realized need and its role in the development and blossoming of the the nations" (p 159).

Dzhafarov's book will certainly come to the attention of the specialists, for it reflects quite clearly the successes achieved by science in the study of real ethnolinguistic processes and individual errors of researchers in their theoretical interpretation of one aspect or another of the interaction between the Russian language and the languages of the peoples of the USSR, a significance which could hardly be overestimated, for "considering the great successes achieved in the study of the Russian language," the author writes, "the percentage of people fluent in it remains insufficient" (p 183).

The May 1983 decree on taking further steps to improve the study of Russian in general education schools and other training institutions in union republics (3) is an indicator of the concern shown by the CPSU and the Soviet state for further upgrading the role of the Russian language in strengthening the international unity within Soviet society. It calls for a number of steps aimed at creating conditions for the successful study of the Russian language by the population of national republics. The document ascribes great importance to the dissemination of the progressive experience of party and Soviet bodies. The monograph under review is a significant contribution to this matter.

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ASPECTS OF MANAGING A SCIENTIFIC COLLECTIVE

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[Review by V. A. Yadov of the book "Problemy Rukovodstva Nauchnym Kollektivom"
[Problems of Managing a Scientific Collective]. Nauka, Moscow, 1982, 317 pp]

[Text] This collective work by associates of the sector of problems of scientific creativity of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the History of Natural Sciences and Technology, deals with the particularly complex aspects of organizing scientific work: the establishment of a creative collective, maintaining productive businesslike relations within it, allocation of traditional roles ("generator of ideas," "erudite" and "critic") productive and destructive conflicts and, finally, strategy and tactics in a sociopsychologically knowledgeable management of a collective creative process.

The sociopsychological problems of managing a scientific collective are usually considered on the basis of the historical reconstruction of the personalities of the outstanding founders of scientific schools. The best studies in the area of group dynamics and leadership were made either under laboratory conditions or among secondary and higher school and sports collectives and groups involved in physical and office work. One way or another, the few sociopsychological studies of collective scientific work have made use of theoretical models developed in terms of the groups we mentioned.

The greatest merit of this monograph is the development of a new program-role approach to the study of the dynamics of a scientific collective. The essence of this approach, suggested by the author, is that it rests on two initial principles: a consideration of the process of scientific research as the formulation and systematic implementation of programs (systems of initial postulates and hypotheses based on them) and the optimal assignment of functions (roles) in the scientific collective. "It is precisely the program which represents the object-activity base for the sociopsychological phenomena which arise in the collective: motivational stress of orientation, dynamic processes, reflexive attitudes, etc." (p 11). This view of the functioning of collectives, developed by A. V. Petrovskiy and his associates, is distinguished by its dialectical-materialistic approach to group and collective creativity problems. The active interlinking of all forms of collective relations, according to A. V. Petrovskiy, forms their actual base on which the sociopsychological "superstructures" are erected.

In the study of the "role ensemble" of those who formulate a scientific program, the language of the role approach (properly developed in sociology and social psychology) enables us to consider a creative search as a joint and collective activity, whereas traditional models of the study of the scientific process are based on the study of the creative individuality of the scientist. The function of the manager here is to organize collective activities, from the elaboration of a program to obtaining specific scientific results.

The monograph is distinguished by a close unity between theoretical concept and practical execution, comprehensive investigation of formulated hypotheses and use of very refined research methods and contemporary means of statistical data analyses, nonparametric statistics in particular. It also contains a detailed description of the only experiment of its kind made in one of the large subunits of a sectorial technological scientific research institute in the course of its conversion to a new scientific area.

V. P. Kartsev, who studies the role ensemble of the scientific collective, suggests an interesting method for computing the coefficient of role differentiation, accessible to practical workers, both from the viewpoint of the performance of basic functions (research and organizational) as well as that of assigning the informal roles of "erudite," "idea generator" and "critic." The conclusion that high indicators achieved by the manager of the "critical" function are correlated with low indicators of work efficiency while low indicators in this function are correlated with high productivity (p 68) is extremely useful to all managers of scientific collectives. The efficient manager must, consequently remember that his main obligation is not merely to criticize erroneous or poor solutions (it would be best to assign this to another member of the "role ensemble"), but also to suggest ideas and properly to organize daily work. Incidentally, the function of "erudite" is not the best feature of a manager. His erudition becomes important "only if combined with high creative and organizational potential" (p 66).

In addition to the optimal assignment of role functions to the members of the scientific collective, the ability (particularly in the case of the manager himself) adequately to distinguish among such functions is of great importance. This is the conclusion reached by G. N. Koroleva, who uses in her research the role perception coefficient. The improper perception of role functions and confusing them are sources of interpersonality stress and the outbreak of unproductive conflicts. Such conflicts, as the monograph authors indicate, may also be subconscious. As a rule, however, their source is the attitude toward the research program and the inadequacy of assessments (and self-assessments) of participation of the different associates in its implementation. "The subconscious conflict on the level of the understanding of a scientific research program of the collective," M. A. Ivanov writes, "leads to the self-assessment by the managers...of their own contribution" (p 123). Unlike an unproductive conflict based on unclear functions or inadequate understanding of the essence of the program, businesslike arguments and even conflicts based on scientific differences stimulate creative activities, A. G. Allakhverdyan and L. A. Sidorova claim.

P. G. Belkin provides an interesting study of the sociopsychological and personality aspects of the way young people adapt to a scientific collective. The young specialists in the institute were divided into two groups: those who had joined it with their own scientific plans (internally motivated) and without such plans (externally motivated). If to the manager the most important factor of success is inner motivation, as M. G. Yaroshevskiy writes, "the manager must not simply be a gifted person but combine talent with particular motivation" (p 25), the successful adaptation of young associates, conversely, is helped by the lack of an inner desire to implement their own creative plans.

The program-role approach to the study of sociopsychological problems of managing a scientific collective has made it possible to identify a number of new phenomena of role behavior in organizations consisting of representatives of one science or another and the managers of such collectives must display particular skill in organizing the work without unreasonable rivalry and clash of ambitions.

It is true that the following question appears here: What is the situation of interdisciplinary scientific centers, in which the development of an unstable collective is inadmissible? The experience of such associations proves that their success largely depends on the extent of the scientific outlook of the manager and his reputation among "discipline leaders."

One of the most interesting sections in the monograph offers a detailed study of the sociopsychological mechanisms for group decision-making in the case of clashes among varying and frequently quite different approaches to a problem. The experimental study of such mechanisms made by L. A. Karpenko does not only expose the inner springs of the dynamics of interrelationships among rivaling groups and their leaders but also offers some methods easily applicable and useful in management practices. Unquestionably, this includes the method of the expert evaluation of several variants in resolving a scientific problem, singling out aspects such as relevance, difficulty, prestige for the institute, prestige for the expert, material incentive of the group and its creative possibilities (i.e., determining the level of preparedness of the collective to implement the idea). The manager of the scientific subunit may use such tools in order to diagnose the situation within his collective and formulate a corresponding management strategy. The monograph authors suggest several other specific methods which the manager could use in his daily work.

The program-role approach to the study of the scientific collective may be considered as totally substantiated and fruitful. Naturally, as the authors themselves emphasize, the further study and refinement of individual hypotheses is needed. The formulation of some conclusions is unclear. For example, in terms of the correlation between basic incentives in the activities of the scientific collective, we read at one point that "the dependence of the viability of science on the existence of internally motivated individuals" increases (p 24); elsewhere we read that the most convincing are arguments related to "external" factors (material incentive) compared to arguments of an "internal" research motivation (p 198).

The monograph under review is a noteworthy contribution to the elaboration of a general sociopsychological problem of groups and collectives. The manager of the scientific subunit, for whom the book has been written above all, will draw from it a great deal of useful information in upgrading his own sociopsychological knowledge, particularly under conditions in which the significance of collective scientific creativity is increasing very rapidly.

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ASPECTS OF POPULATION AND SOCIETAL REPRODUCTION

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[Reviews of the book "Vosproizvodstvo Naseleniya i Obshchestvo. Istoriya, Sovremennost', Vzglyad v Budushcheye" [Population Reproduction and Society. History, Contemporaneity, View of the Future] by A. G. Vishnevskiy. Finansy i Statistika, Moscow, 1982, 287 pp]

[Text] A. G. Vishnevskiy's new monograph has brought to light different and even conflicting assessments on the part of the scientific public. For that reason, as an exception, the editors decided to present two reviews expressing different viewpoints on the questions raised by the author and the means of resolving them.

Review by E. A. Arab-ogly

Today theoretical studies in the field of demography are more than ever before closely related above all to the aggravated ideological and political struggle on the ways and prospects of social progress and the practical tasks of the rational utilization of labor resources, strengthening the family and raising the growing generation. At the same time, the relative autonomy and inner logic of specific demographic processes, without the profound theoretical interpretation of which neither scientific predictions nor population reproduction control are possible, are becoming increasingly clear. This precisely is the topic of A. G. Vishnevskiy's monograph.

The author proceeds from Engels' familiar stipulation formulated in the preface to "Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State": "According to the materialistic understanding, the determining aspect of history is, in the final account, the direct production and reproduction of life. In itself, however, this process is of a double nature. On the one hand, it involves the production of ways of existence: food, clothing, housing and the tools they require; on the other, the production of the people themselves, the continuation of the race" (1). Vishnevskiy convincingly proves that the latter aspect is hardly the simple function of the former, as was assumed by many Marxists for a long time, but is a relatively independent demographic system with its specific laws.

This approach to the problem of population reproduction, combined with a specific historical method for the study of demographic processes, enables the author creatively to sum up tremendous factual data in his field of knowledge and combined with other sciences.

Vishnevskiy singles out demographic relations on which population reproduction is based and provides a thorough study of demographic behavior and awareness. He pays particular attention to two problems: maintaining a certain stable condition (homeostasis) between the demographic system and its external environment and the evolution of the demographic system throughout the entire history of mankind. The author does not simply note the need to study demographic processes through the lens of the socioeconomic development of society but tries to concretize the understanding of historical determination, considering demographic relations a particular type of social relations. The demographic behavior of the people is socially and historically determined precisely because demographic relations are socially and historically determined. However, since the latter are stable and relatively autonomous, demographic behavior, structured in accordance with them, is protected (naturally, to a certain extent) from external factors. This view enables us "to achieve a new understanding of the nature of cause and effect dependencies in the demographic area and to link the treatment of the causal determination of demographic processes to concepts of the demographic system as purposeful and self-organizing" (p 4).

The principal merit of the systemic approach to the population reproduction problem is its historical nature: the laws governing the functioning and development of the demographic system are not pitted against each other but, conversely, are interdependent. This enables the author to trace the process of ascension toward increasingly "economical" forms of reproduction of life in the course of the change of generations in terms of biological evolution and social development. "Economy," or the reduced cost of survival, "paid" by the species, expressed in the ratio between the birth and death rates, is achieved in the organic world thanks to the biological regulators of multiplication and, in society, by the social regulator of population reproduction. The conversion from one to the other is a profound qualitative leap, as a result of which the internal strength and stability of the demographic system in terms of existential factors not only simply increases but converts from biological to social. This circumstance, however, does not eliminate the types of characteristics biologically inherent in humankind (ratio between sexes at birth, fertility, normal lifespan, etc.). They are preserved as a kind of natural framework within which the social laws and trends of birth and mortality rates, average lifespan, etc., continue to operate.

In tracing the trend toward increased "economy" of demographic processes in the course of social progress, Vishnevskiy singles out three basic historical types of population reproduction: archaic, tradition and contemporary, as well as two demographic revolutions: neolithic and present.*

* The concept of "demographic revolution," substantiated by the author in his previous monograph, is scientifically incomparably more meaningful and fruitful than the concept of "demographic transition," which some Soviet demographers still prefer in indicating breaks in the gradual alternation of various types of population reproduction. The latter term, used primarily in Anglo-American publications, has a certain positivistic coloring, similar to terms such as "social change" (instead of social progress), "social stratification" (instead of social and class structure), etc.

The explanation of the nature of the two demographic revolutions takes the reader to a range of ideas important in understanding historical shifts in human behavior and in the functioning of a number of institutions. In discussing changes in the conditions of the birth and mortality rates in the epoch of the first demographic revolution, Vishnevskiy notes the great role which the establishment of the institution of the family played in this respect. This led to tremendous changes in the awareness of the people and contributed to the profound interiorizing of cultural norms applicable to the most important events in human life. Views on marriage and marital duties changed and new rituals developed.

The interdisciplinary trend of the book proves to be particularly fruitful in discussing various explanatory models of procreational (reproduction) behavior.

Vishnevskiy brings together two models: his own, based on his concept of the historical types of the birth rate, and the so-called concept of usefulness, supported by A. Antonov, V. Borisov, L. Darskiy and other Soviet demographers. According to the author, the supporters of the "usefulness model," which links the level of the birthrate with one type of parental interest or another (economic, for example) in having children, failed to see the essential qualitative differences between the procreational behavior of people today and in the past. From Vishnevskiy's point of view, in the past exogenous components predominated in the structure of procreational motivations. "Lacking sufficiently developed individual needs, objectives, and so on," the person behaved himself as "subject to external forces and the impulses they generate" (p 169). Changes in historical conditions led to a reorganization which "presumes the restriction of exogenous behavioral motives by endogenous ones and the increased predominance of motivational components which relate each action to internal, personal and individual aspirations and objectives" (p 169). However, personal objectives and aspirations are socially determined by the "terminal" social values. The new type of procreation behavior becomes possible because at a certain stage in historical development a relative separation and development of terminal demographic values takes place. They assume a direct motivational force and are reflected in the individual and social consciousness as a need to have children (p 188). The author ascribes an important role in the shaping of contemporary demographic values to the "child-centered" orientation of the individual and the family.

In the heat of the debate Vishnevskiy may have exaggerated the weakness of the "useful model" and overestimated the power of his arguments. However, the latter are exceptionally interesting, not only to demographers but to specialists in related sectors of scientific knowledge as well—sociology and psychology.

The unquestionable merits of the book include the practical value of many of its conclusions which can be used in the exercise of demographic policy. In the view of the author, the latter could be successful only if it is aimed at achieving qualitative, strictly demographic objectives rather than quantitative ones. This conclusion enables us to understand better the overall intent of the work, which is precisely to identify the demographic interests

among the various interests and social objectives and to indicate the ways and means of attaining them.

In conclusion, let us mention some shortcomings in the book. In some places, particularly in the first part, the presentation is excessively abstract although, naturally, in itself an aspiration toward a high level of abstraction in a theoretical work is no fault. Also, since the author enters the range of competence of sociology, his failure to mention a number of studies recently conducted by Soviet and foreign Marxist scientists on sociological and sociopsychological topics, dealing with the study of social and individual needs, social behavior regulators, structure and functions of social institutions, the family in particular, etc., seems unjustified. Finally, a number of concepts formulated in the monograph must be refined and interpreted. Let us note, above all, that the logic of development of the demographic system coincides with the specific historical process of population reproduction only on the level of scientific abstraction; in actual social reality it may deviate from it more substantially than the author assumes. This is manifested with particular clarity in the disparity between the average growth rates of the population over long historical periods and the actual situation in individual countries and different ethnic groups during specific periods of time. In speaking of the tendency of the demographic system to achieve a balance, the author should have expressed more clearly the concept that this balance is not static but dynamic and that a disturbance of the inner "balance" within the demographic system may act precisely as an indicator of ensuring its balance with the progress of the entire social system. An example of this is the faster population growth in Great Britain and Germany compared to France during the 19th century. One could also hardly agree with the claim that the intensive population increase in Central Asia confirms a greater "demographic backwardness" of the area compared with the Baltic republics.

As a whole, however, the scientific and cognitive value of the monograph is quite high. It is distinguished by clearly formulated hypotheses followed by their investigation, and its good style. Also worthy of approval is the fact that the author has adopted a critical attitude toward some previously expressed statements, intensifying and additionally substantiating or even occasionally refuting them. All of this proves a high self-exigency and the existence of active scientific research. In our view, Vishnevskiy's book is a major contribution to the general population theory, historical demography and family sociology and will contribute to the more profound interpretation of a number of important aspects of the materialistic understanding of history.

Review by V. I. Kozlov

[Text] Since the monograph repeatedly emphasizes that it is of a primarily theoretical nature, it would be expedient to consider it from the conceptual viewpoint. We shall consider only two basic strictly sociological and, incidentally, most original features. It is a question of the aspiration to present the population as a particular "demographic system" and to prove that this system is in a state of balance or homeostasis. Virtually all other

concepts in the book either directly stem from these conceptually basic theses or are cited as proof of the latter.

The author immediately proclaims that "the activities of any social organism mandatorily includes the implementation of the function of maintaining the continuity of the human species" (p 7) and that the processes and phenomena related to human reproduction are a "separate realm of social life, to be subsequently known as demographic" (p 8) and that the term "demographic system" will be synonymous with the concept of "population" (p 8). He further points out that all of these terms are related by the formula "demographic system and population--people together with the demographic relations which connect them" (here and subsequently terms singled out by Vishnevskiy).

The author introduces equally emphatically the concept of demographic homeostasis, allegedly characteristic of the "demographic system." He opens his considerations with the concept of the existence of a "stable condition of the demographic system" which he describes as the "demographic balance" (p 15) or homeostasis (p 19). This is followed by an analogy of this condition with the biological regulation of the temperature of the body in warm-blooded animals (p 17), after which the reader is asked to acknowledge the "fact" that the demographic system has self-control mechanisms. Thanks to this, the "stability of demographic processes proves to be substantially greater than conditions external to the demographic system, while the functioning of this system includes substantial anticipation elements (?!), which prevent the development of a conflict between the demographic and the other subsystems of the social entity, fraught with an irreversible disturbance of the demographic balance" (p 19).

This is followed by the section entitled "Biological Control of Self-Renovating Populations in Nature," which describes the process of multiplication of different organisms, starting with single cells, but which proves nothing in terms of people and, in our view, is irrelevant in a sociological work. Vishnevskiy's consideration of the theoretical legacy of the Marxist-Leninist classics deserves incomparably greater attention, for they consider it possible to classify production into two basic types: the production of means of existence and the production of man himself. The relations which Marx and Engels defined as "the relations between husband and wife and between parents and children..." described by V. I. Lenin as "child production relations," in Vishnevskiy's opinion can be "naturally described as demographic relations" (pp 36-37). "Demographic relations exist side by side with production relations, closely interwoven with them, without, however, losing their independence" (p 37); in this connection "...we can speak of the management of demographic processes as self-management, for under ordinary circumstances demographic relations (i.e., those "within" the system) exert a far greater influence on the physical behavior of people than any external influences, even catastrophes such as wars, epidemics, economic crises, etc." (pp 39-40). According to the author, throughout human history three basic types of demographic relations have existed in birth and mortality rates, described as historical types of population reproduction: the archetype, inherent in pre-class society, the traditional, which ruled preclass society and the early stages of capitalist development, and the modern or rational (p 49). Each

one of these types has its condition of demographic balance or homeostasis, and transitions among them are considered by the author "demographic revolutions."

Such conceptual statements are by far not impeccable from the methodological viewpoint. Perhaps even subconsciously in his views the author resorts to a method known in logic as the improper substitution of one meaning for another. In this case, we are asked to interpret the term "population," which has its specific meaning, as a "demographic system." As we know, the term "system" involves the concept of a specific organization, which, once again, the reader is asked to compare to a self-regulating organism, while highly developed "warm-blooded" organisms are characterized by a state of homeostasis, and so on, and so forth.

Let me start with the fact that in our scientific literature the term "population" means the totality (rather than a system!) of people, as sociobiological beings existing within one territory or another. The population is the natural foundation of society as a whole and its individual parts, be they nations, classes or, for example, school collectives or amateur artistic circles. To a social scientist the term "population" is rather abstract, for he deals not with the totality of people in general but with specific social formations, with people united with the help of specific social ties. Many social formations exist for long periods of time, reproducing themselves in ever new generations. In accordance with the twin nature of man, such reproduction has two sides: the biological and the social. Social reproduction is quite varied: in the case of nations or ethnic groups, for example, passing on to the new generation cultural and social characteristics and traditions and to classes, social relations and so on, are of basic significance. It would be difficult even to imagine a science which would study all types of social reproduction in their specific "qualitative" variety. As to biological or natural reproduction, which is basically more uniform, it is studied essentially by the demographers, who use primarily quantitative characteristics for this purpose.

Demography studies birth and mortality rate phenomena, which are essentially biological but experience the strong and frequently determining influence of social factors. The latter could be quite disparate: folk traditions, religious beliefs, the development of the state health care system and the class-inequitable distribution of the product. Each one of these factors is related directly or indirectly to a specific social group. Efforts to present the "population" as a specific "demographic system," relatively independent of economic, state-political, ethnic or other social systems, subject to the effect of a certain internal mechanism which ensures a condition of "demographic homeostasis," means, essentially, acknowledging the fact that the "demographic system" is not social but biological. Quite indicative in this respect are Vishnevskiy's frequent references to unicellular and multicellular organisms.

The formulation of a particular "demographic system," which covers the birth and mortality rates, is erroneous also because socially (as well as biologically) the two phenomena are determined by special groups of factors almost

or totally directly unrelated to each other. For example, the outbreak of an epidemic, which drastically increases the mortality rate in all age groups, may not affect the level of the birth rate, whereas long periods of work or military service by young men reduces the number of marriages and lowers the birthrate without, however, having virtually any effect on the mortality rate.

Vishnevskiy's references to statements by Marxist-Leninist classics on the existence of two types of production does not prove the thesis of a single "demographic system" but undermines it instead. We know that the production of means of existence is aimed, one way or another, against death and the "production of life" in itself is not directly related to mortality. In considering the two types of production on the demographic level, it would be more accurate to speak of the existence of two "demographic systems" rather than a single one, as Vishnevskiy does. It is indicative that in the two subsequent parts of the book under review the author considers the mortality and birth rates essentially as phenomena independent of each other.

We believe inexpedient the characterization in detail of historical-demographic outlines of mortality and birth rates. Let me merely point out that in one of them, from the very beginning, the author promotes the controversial, to say the least, idea of social "mortality control," and its lowering or increase (?) for the sake of achieving a "demographic homeostasis." In particular, Vishnevskiy depicts the members of the preclass society as primitive Malthusians, who "sanctioned infanticide, cannibalism, head-hunting, human sacrifice and blood revenge" for the sake of increasing mortality (p 94). In my view, another conclusion would be more suitable: society's main efforts have always been aimed at reducing the mortality rate, although this general trend does not, naturally, exclude cases of its local temporary increase,* as a result of a war, for example. The fact that in the Middle Ages a plague epidemic was considered "divine punishment" does not result, as the author believes, in a "passive" attitude of the people (p 99); actually, the people did everything possible to avoid epidemics, organizing quarantines and taking other steps to this effect. The morbidity and mortality structures changed with time but the struggle against them never stopped. No "demographic revolutions" have taken place in this area, although revolutions have taken place in science, medicine, etc.

In the final section of his book, addressing himself to demographic policy, Vishnevskiy includes in it "a system of measures promoted by social institutions, most frequently the state...aimed at attaining consciously set demographic objectives" (pp 228-229). This initial definition is erroneous, for, in the final account, a demographic policy (or, more accurately, a policy in the area of population reproduction) is aimed at achieving less "demographic" than economic, state-political and other important objectives. Even this inaccuracy, however, is not the main shortcoming. The author tries to prove that the contemporary type of population is related to "a significant separation of the demographic from the other social areas" (p 230) and that

* For details see Kozlov, V. I. "Characteristics of Population Reproduction in Preclass and Early Class Society." In the book "Etnos v Doklassovom Obshchestve [The Ethnic Factor in Preclass Society]. Nauka, Moscow, 1982.

"acknowledging the ability of the demographic system for self-regulation and self-control" is important in terms of demographic policy (p 233). It is thus that, once again, the author tries to promote the idea that the "demographic system" is characterized by self-control, independent of the economic, state-political and other social areas, for which reason, he claims, it does not particularly need measures operating outside of it. The experience of the successful policy pursued by a number of countries in increasing or decreasing the population rate is, unfortunately, ignored by the author.

Vishnevskiy expresses in his introduction the assumption that his theoretical analysis may "seem too abstract and disappointing to the reader who would like to find in his book simple recommendations suitable for immediate practical use" (p 6) and points out the importance of theory both in terms of science and practice. No one could object to this were it indeed a question of scientific theory rather than theoretical barren flowers. It must be admitted, in this case, that the theoretical elaborations suggested by Vishnevskiy are of no practical value. Specifically, the elaboration of a demographic policy on their basis would be hardly possible.

Such a critical analysis of Vishnevskiy's concepts could be extended further. In particular, we could speak of the weakness of his arguments on the transition from "demographic homeostasis" to "demographic revolution" and the inept use of political terminology in the study of demographic phenomena. Also needed is a comparison between some of the author's "original" statements with quite similar theses of the "organic theory of society," formulated as early as the end of the 19th century by Herbert Spencer, the British philosopher and sociologist. This, however, should be the task not of a review but of a thorough critical article.

The reader should not be led to the conclusion that this monograph consists of nothing but errors. This is far from being the case. The work contains a great deal of factual data the study of which, concepts notwithstanding, lead the author to draw very valuable scientific conclusions.

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STUDY OF YUGOSLAV FAMILY AND MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

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[Review by S. M. Brayovich and Z. T. Golenkova of the book "Brak i Sem'ya u Narodov Yugoslavii" [Marriage and Family in the Yugoslav Peoples] by Bromley, Yu. V. and Kashuba, M. S. Nauka, Moscow, 1982, 238 pp]

[Text]The study of family problems in Yugoslavia has a rich tradition. It was started during the establishment of the independent state of Montenegro in the second half of the 19th century. It was precisely then that V. Bogishich made his first empirical study of the family. He is considered by many Yugoslav sociologists the founder of this scientific trend. The studies made by Y. Tsviich and V. Erlikh are also considered classical. Today successful work is being done on problems of family relations by O. Burich, M. Mladenovich, R. First-Dimich, M. Bosanats, R. Petrovich, A. Zochevich, E. Pusica, S. Yakshich, M. Mikhovilovich and other sociologists and ethnographers.

The authors of the book under review emphasize that the shaping of family relations in Yugoslavia is greatly influenced by the fact that the peoples of this multinational country have reached different levels of socioeconomic development. For long periods of time they were respectively influenced by Eastern and Western culture.

The authors trace two dialectically interrelated processes: the influence of society on the family and of the family on society. They analyze in detail how and through what channels the state influences family and marital relations and changes within them. They trace the influence of socioeconomic, political and cultural factors and migration processes on the lifestyle of the peoples of Yugoslavia. Interethnic marriages play a major role in the ethnic integration of the population, the authors emphasize.

The dynamics of family relations is considered in the context of the socioeconomic changes which began in Yugoslavia immediately after its liberation from fascist occupation and the victory of the people's regime. Despite the progressive economic development of previously backward agrarian areas and the increase of the urban population and the working class, differences in the socioeconomic and cultural aspects of individual parts of the country remain, manifested in the percentage of agricultural population, rate of illiteracy, ratios among different groups and strata in the social structure, mobility,

migrations, etc. In addition to these factors, the development of marriage-family relations is influenced by traditions which vary not only among the individual national but ethnic and regional groups as well. Thus, for instance, Islam is more tolerant of divorce compared to Christianity, Roman Catholicism in particular, and "vestiges of such traditions are occasionally manifested to this day" (p 26).

In our view, the authors of the monograph, who have relied on Yugoslav scientific data, have not always assessed such information quite critically. In particular, they cite without comment a statement by Y. Tsvich on the subject of labor communities¹, which he clearly idealizes as cells for the preservation and development of the national culture of Yugoslav peoples (pp 90, 172). The role of such association could hardly be interpreted so unilaterally, for these communities are also a variety of bastions of conservatism and an obstacle on the path of what is new and progressive.

We also consider debatable the authors' assessment of the phenomenon of a "rebirth of culture, the so-called folklorism" (p 172). This is partially explained with the development of foreign tourism. Unfortunately, the authors fail to make a more profound study of this phenomenon which is characteristic of a number of European countries.

In discussing the questions of marriage in Yugoslavia, the authors analyze family-marriage legislation and the traditions of the various nations relative to getting married, courting, marital age, choice of partner, interethnic marriages and divorce. They describe the changes which have taken place under the people's regime. They note, in particular, that extensive work is under way in Yugoslavia on updating and establishing a uniform family and marriage legislation for the entire country, something which did not exist before World War II, since economic, political and cultural conditions sharply differed from area to area. In their study of marriage and family norms of Yugoslav republics the authors describe the process of development of legislation in the country toward integration.

The book contains extensive factual data on and a detailed description of marriage-related ceremonies. The conclusion is drawn that many of them have become virtually obsolete and are practiced in remote rural areas only (such as courting among Muslims). The encounter service, which publishes marriage announcements, and a marriage agency, the purpose of which is to choose potential spouses, act as a marriage consultant, etc., have significantly developed in contemporary Yugoslavia.

The sociologists will be particularly interested in the sections on the age at which people marry, the selection of partners and nationally mixed marriages. In recent decades mixed marriages have shown an increasing trend: they accounted for 9.3 percent of all marriages in 1956 and for 13.5 percent in 1974. A significant percentage of the population considers such marriages a normal phenomenon, with the exception of the members of the senior generation and people in rural areas.

¹Several related or unrelated families engaged in joint farming.

The authors extensively analyze the family life and the typology, structure and functions of the contemporary Yugoslav family. They distinguish between the simple (small, nuclear, individual, etc.) family, consisting of a single married couple (or one of the parents) with unmarried children or childless, and the complex family, consisting of two or more simple families. They note that the most common is the simple family, particularly among the urban population. They trace closely the correlation between the educational level and type of employment of women and the number of children in the family (p 131). In a 50-year period (1921-1971) the Yugoslav birthrate has declined by one half, from 36.7 to 18.2 per thousand. This trend has been stable.

The main line in the development of family-marriage relations in Yugoslavia is defined by the new features of family life, such as, above all, an equal socioeconomic status and an atmosphere of respect for the individual. This is the authors' main conclusion.

Finally, let us note that this work is the first of its kind and represents a successful attempt at the study by Soviet authors of marriage and family problems in a fraternal socialist republic.

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